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*Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar.*¹—By
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INTRODUCTION.

The languages of the Philippine Islands so far as they are known² form a closely related group of tongues belonging to the great Malayo-Polynesian family, which embraces the languages of practically all the islands between the east coast of Asia and the west coast of America south of 30° north latitude, with the exception of Papua and Australia, and also includes the languages spoken on the Malay peninsula at the south-eastern extremity of the continent of Asia, and on the island of Madagascar off the coast of Africa.

¹ In the spelling of Philippine words in this paper, *k* is used instead of the older *c* and *qu*; *g* instead of *gu* before *i*, *e*; *w* instead of consonantal *u* before a vowel; *i* for initial *y* before a consonant; but with these exceptions it has seemed best to retain the traditional orthography. As in most of the languages the accent of words is not given, the accent marks have been omitted throughout, except where they indicate a difference in meaning, and in the case of ^ and ` in Tagalog, which indicate a final glottal catch (cf. below, p. 335). For the reformed spelling in Tagalog, cf. the foot-notes to my paper, *The Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog*, in this volume of the Journal.

² The languages of the Negritos, the diminutive black people who live in scattered tribes in the interior mountain ranges of the larger islands, and who are probably the remnant of the aborigines of the Archipelago, are said by certain Spanish authorities (cf. *El Archipiélago Filipino*, Washington, 1900, vol. 1, p. 229; Lacalle y Sánchez, *Tierras y razas del archipiélago filipino*, Manila, 1886, p. 246) to be entirely different from those of the other inhabitants of the islands. These authorities state furthermore that the idioms of all the Negritos practically constitute one language, and that this language is of monosyllabic structure as opposed to the dissyllabic structure of the Malay tongues. However true this may have been originally, at the present day it is certain that those Negrito dialects about which anything is known are very similar in vocabulary and grammatical structure to the other Philippine languages. It is probable, however, that the Negritos have in such cases more or less completely adopted the languages of the neighboring Malay tribes (cf. A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II. Negritos*, Dresden, 1893 (Königl. ethnogr. Museum zu Dresden, ix), p. 36 ff.

It is perhaps useless to hazard any conjectures as to the primitive seat of the Malayo-Polynesians, whose ancient history is practically a sealed book, but it seems most likely that the cradle of the race was on some of the numerous islands which it now inhabits, possibly some of the large islands in the vicinity of the Malay peninsula.

From this birthplace the ancient Malayo-Polynesians, forced doubtless by the increase in population, must have spread out in a series of waves or swarms, just as in the case of the primitive Indo-Europeans and Semites. Crossing at first by means of their canoes over the comparatively short stretches of sea between their home and the neighboring islands, they gradually pushed further and further out into the unknown, passing from island to island until they had occupied almost all the available land space of the Pacific. Some of the islands they probably found unoccupied, in others they must have come in contact with an inferior black race similar to that inhabiting Papua and Australia, as is shown by the remnants of this race which are found pushed back into the interior mountain ranges of some of the larger islands, notably the Philippines.

The peopling of the Malayo-Polynesian territory probably took place in three great waves or series of waves, to which correspond the three grand divisions of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, viz., the Polynesian, the Melanesian, and the Malay. The 180th meridian forms approximately the boundary between the Polynesian and Melanesian divisions from the north as far south as the latitude of the Fiji islands, practically all the languages spoken east of this line being Polynesian. Further south the line bends to the west, the native language of New Zealand belonging to the Polynesian division. West of the dividing line the Melanesian division extends in a north-westerly direction from the Fiji islands on the south, including the languages of the principal islands of Melanesia and Micronesia. The Malay embraces the languages of the Malay peninsula, the East India islands, the Philippines, and Madagascar.

The Philippine languages, then, may be more accurately defined as a subdivision of the Malay branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family of speech.

The estimated number of Philippine languages varies according to the different authorities. The well known Spanish Fili-

pinologist W. E. Retana, in his latest bibliographical work on the Philippines,¹ enumerates twenty-five different idioms; the great Philippine specialist, Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt, of Leitmeritz in Bohemia, in his brief survey of Philippine races and languages,² mentions at least thirty; while in an encyclopediac work on the Philippines prepared by the Jesuits, 'El Archipiélago Filipino,'³ the number given exceeds fifty.

Of many of the languages enumerated in the larger estimates, practically nothing is known but the name, and it is quite possible that many of these names are simply alternate designations of the better known languages, or, at most, designations of some slightly variant dialect. Beginning at the extreme north of the Archipelago, the languages about which anything definite is known are as follows.

Batan is the language of the Batan and Babuyan islands to the north of Luzon.

On the island of Luzon, Tagalog, the most important and best known of the Philippine languages, is spoken from coast to coast, in the middle region of the island, in the latitude of Manila Bay. On the west coast its territory does not extend north of the Bay, but on the east it reaches as far north as the province of Isabela, the most northerly but one of the provinces on the east coast, in which is situated the town of Palanan, where Aguinaldo was captured by General Funston. On the south and south-east it extends some distance down into what might be called the tail of Luzon, trenching on the domain of Bikol, which occupies the remainder of the southern part of the island. In the region north and west of the Tagalog district are spoken a number of languages. Ibanag prevails in the north-east, in the valley of the Cagayan river, the greatest tobacco-raising district in the island; Ilokan occupies the north and west coasts, extending as far south as the gulf of Lingayen, between which and the Bay of Manila are found Pangasinan, Tino or Zambal, and Pampangan. In the mountainous district of the interior are spoken the various Igorot dialects, among which

¹ *Catálogo abreviado de la biblioteca filipina*, Madrid, 1898.

² Cf. *List of Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the languages spoken by them*, trans. by O. T. Mason in Report of Smithsonian Inst. for the year ending June, 1899; Washington, 1901, pp. 527-547.

³ Washington, 1900; cf. vol. 1, pp. 1-148 *passim*.

it is probable that Gaddán, Ginaán, Ilongot, and Isinay are to be classed.¹

On the Bisayan islands, which lie between Luzon and Mindanao, and on the north and east coasts of the latter island, Bisayan is spoken in a number of different dialects.²

Sulu is used by the Moros of the Sulu subarchipelago, which extends from the western extremity of Mindanao towards Borneo. The Moro tribes of Mindanao, which occupy parts of the west and southwest of that island, speak two almost identical dialects, Magindanao and Malanao. Of the numerous other idioms reported as spoken on Mindanao, we know practically nothing about any except Bagobo, which is found near the great volcano Apo in the south-eastern part of the island, and Tiruray, which occupies a district near the Moro territory in the south-west.

The island of Mindoro, which lies to the south of Luzon and west of the Bisayas, forms the domain of Mangyan, about which, so far as I know, nothing has yet been published.¹ The principal language of the Calamianes and the long narrow island of Palawan, which form a chain stretching from Mindoro to the south-west towards Borneo, is Tagbanwa, of which the idioms of Agutaya and Cuyo, two small islands between Palawan and the Bisayas, are perhaps simply dialects,² though they are usually given as distinct languages.

The tribes that speak these languages fall into three general groups according to their religion. Those that speak Batan, Ibanag, Ilokan, Pangasinan, Zambal, Pampangan, Tagalog, Bikol, Bisayan, Agutayan,² and Koyuvan³ are Christians; the Sulus, Magindanaos, and Malanaos are Mohammedans; while the remaining tribes mentioned are still pagans.

Three different alphabets are in use in the Archipelago, viz.

1) that of the pagan Tagbanwas and Mangyans;⁴ 2) that of the

¹ Cf. *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, Part 2, p. 780.

² Cf. my paper *The Bisayan Dialects*, JAOS. xxvi, 1905, pp. 120-136.

³ Cf. Blumentritt, *The Philippines*, trans. by D. J. Doherty, Chicago, 1900, p. 24.

⁴ The Mangyan alphabet, however, is treated in the following, viz., Blumentritt, *Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro*, Braunschweig, 1896; A. B. Meyer, Schadenberg and Foy, *Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro*, Berlin, 1895=*Abhandl. u. Berichte d. Königl. zoolog. u. anthropol.-ethnogr. Museums zu Dresden*, No. 15.

Mohammedan tribes, the Arabic alphabet with some additional signs to denote some peculiar native sounds;¹ 3) the Roman alphabet introduced by the Spaniards, in which all the languages of the Christian tribes, and all those of pagan tribes which have been reduced to writing by Spanish missionaries, are written.

At the time of the Spanish conquest, the principal of the now Christian tribes possessed alphabets that are practically identical with those of the Tagbanwas and Mangyans,² and it is probable that the Mohammedan tribes originally had similar alphabets. These ancient alphabets have in both cases been superseded by that of the race whose religion has been adopted. In the Mohammedan tribes no trace of them has been preserved, and their use in the Christian tribes seems to have died out about the middle of the eighteenth century.³

The archetype of these natives alphabets seems to have been of Indian origin. As in the Indian alphabets, every consonantal character without addition represents the consonant followed by the vowel *a*, the other vowels being indicated by secondary marks. There was no way of expressing a consonant without a following vowel, hence such a consonant was omitted in writing.⁴

¹ Similarly there are some additional characters in the Arabic alphabet adapted to Malay, Persian, Turkish, and Hindustani, cf. Marsden, *A Gram. of the Malayan Language*, London, 1812, p. 1 f.; Salemann und Shukovski, *Persische Gram.* Berlin, 1889, § 1; A. Müller, *Türkische Gram.* Berlin, 1889, § 5; Vinson, *Manuel de la langue hindoustani*, Paris 1899, p. 5. In like manner the Amharic alphabet is the Ethiopic with some additional characters to denote some peculiar Amharic sounds, while Coptic is written in the Greek uncial alphabet with seven additional characters borrowed from Demotic: cf. Praetorius, *Die Amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1879, p. 17, § 1 a; Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, 2^{te} ed., Berlin, 1904, p. 5.

² Cf. Marcillo y Martin, *Estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos*, Malabón, 1895.

³ Totanes in his *Arte de la lengua tagala*, Sampaloc, 1745, states that at his time very few natives could read this alphabet, and that hardly any could write it: cf. the later edition, Binondo, 1865, p. 1.

⁴ This defect was remedied by the Austin friar Francisco Lopez, who in his Ilokán catechism (1621) written in Tagalog characters made use of a diacritical mark, similar in its nature to the Sanskrit *virāma* or Arabic *sukûn*, to indicate a consonant standing alone; cf. *El Archipiélago Filipino*, vol. 1, p. 227.

The Roman alphabet, which is used in writing the native languages, was formerly conformed to the peculiarities of Spanish orthography, but lately a number of improvements in spelling have been introduced, the most important being the use of *k* for *c* and *qu*, and *w* for consonantal *u*.

The Philippine languages have been influenced to some extent, principally in their vocabulary, by the languages with which they have come in contact. The vocabularies of some of them, notably Tagalog and Bisayan, contain, in common with the other Malayan languages, a number of Sanskrit words, e. g., Tagalog and Bisayan *basa* 'read' (San. *bhāṣā* 'languages'), *halaga* 'price' (San. *arḡha*).¹

The languages spoken by the Mohammedan tribes, the most important of which are Magindanao and Sulu, contain a number of Arabic words, e. g., Magindanao and Sulu *dunġa* 'world' (Arabic *دُنْيَا* *dunġā*), Mag. *alatala*, *alahutaala*, Sulu *allah-taala* 'God' (Arabic *الله تَعَالَى* *allahu ta'ālā* 'God, may he be exalted').

The Christian tribes have adopted a considerable body of Spanish terms, e. g., *Dios* 'God,' *pade*, *pare* 'priest.'

A few Chinese words are found in Tagalog as designations of things specifically Chinese, e. g., *cha* or *sa* 'tea' (Chin. *tcha*), *miki* 'a kind of vermicelli' (Chin. *mi-kī*).

At present the various languages are being subjected to the influence of English, and English words will probably be more or less extensively borrowed. Already in the northern part of Luzon the English phrase 'no got' is in common use.²

Spanish, besides influencing to some degree the native vocabularies, has also left its mark in a few cases on the grammatical construction. In Tagalog, for example, the cumbersome native method of coördinating pronouns and numerals, as in *kami niya* 'he and I' literally 'his we,' has been more or less completely

¹ Cf. H. Kern, *Sanskritische woorden in het Tagala*, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, 4^{de} Volg., D. 4, 1880, pp. 535-564; *Sanskritische woorden in het Bisaya*, ibid., 4^{de} Volg., D. 5, pp. 128-135; T. H. Pardo de Tavera, *El Sanscrito en la lengua agala*, Paris, 1887: cf. also my paper, *Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog*, JHU. Circs., No. 163, pp. 63-65.

² Cf. A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, Manila, 1905 (=Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. 1), p. 158.

driven from the field by the simpler Spanish construction with copulative conjunction.¹

The materials for the study of the Philippine languages consist of texts, collections of conversational phrases, grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies. Grammars and dictionaries of some sort exist of most of the languages mentioned; the others must be studied without these helps. The languages that are included in the following comparative studies are, viz., Tagalog, Bisayan (Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, Harayan), Bikol, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Igorot (Nabaloi, Bontok), Ibanag, Batan, Magindanao, Sulu, and Bagobo.²

GENERAL FEATURES.

The most important characteristics which the Philippine languages possess in common are the following.

Words are made up of roots and particles. Roots are mainly dissyllabic and indicate nominal or verbal ideas; practically all

¹ Cf. W. G. Seiple, *The Tagalog Numerals*, JHU. Circs., No. 163, pp. 79-81.

² The principal grammars and dictionaries employed are, viz.: Totanes, *Arte de la lengua tagala*, reimpr., Binondo, 1865; Campomanes, *Leciones de gramática hispano-tagala*, Manila, 1872; Minguella, *Ensayo de gramática hispano-tagala*, Manila, 1878; Noceda, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 3^a ed., Manila, 1860; Zueco, *Metodo del Dr. Ollendorff . . . adaptado al bisaya*, Manila, 1871; Bermejo, *Arte compendiado de la lengua cebuana*, 2^a ed., Tambobong, 1894; Mentrída and Aparicio, *Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna*, Tambobong, 1894; Lozano, *Cursos de lengua panayana*, Manila, 1876; Figueroa, *Arte del idioma visaya de Samar y Leyte*, 2^a ed., Binondo, 1872; Encarnación, *Diccionario bisaya-español*, 3^a ed., Manila, 1885; San Agustín and Crespo, *Arte de la lengua bicol*, Manila, 1879; Bergaño, *Arte de la lengua pampanga*, 2^a ed. (?), Sampaloc, 1736; Pellicer, *Arte de la lengua pangasinana*, reimpr., Manila, 1862; Cosgaya, *Diccionario pangasinan-español*, Manila, 1865; Naves, *Gramática hispano-ilocana*, 2^a ed., Tambobong, 1892; Carro, *Vocabulario iloco-español*, 2^a ed., Manila, 1888; Sheerer, *The Nabaloi dialect*, Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. II, Part II, pp. 95-171, Manila, 1905; Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, vol. 1 of series cited, Manila, 1905, pp. 227-248; De Cuevas, *Arte nuevo de la lengua ybanág*, 2^a ed., Manila, 1854; (Batan grammar) cf. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipina*, vol. II, Madrid, 1896, pp. xxxviii-xl; Juanmarti, *Gramática de la lengua de Magindanao*, Manila, 1892; Cowie, *English-Sulu-Malay Vocabulary*, London, 1893; Gisbert, *Diccionario bagobo-español* and *español-bagobo*, Manila, 1892.

may be used unchanged as significant words; e. g., Tagalog *tawo* 'man,' *ibig* 'wish, want.' Particles are mainly monosyllabic, some being independent words indicating pronominal and adverbial ideas, others being used only in combination with roots to form derivative nouns and verbs, e. g., Tagalog *ka* 'thou,' *na* 'now, already,' *mag*, a prefix used to form active verbs, e. g., *mag-laró* 'play, sport' from *laró*. From these ultimate components of the language other words are formed:

- a) by reduplication of the root, e. g., Tagalog *susulat* 'will write' from *sulat* 'write;'
- b) by the combination of two or more particles, e. g., Tagalog *na-man* 'also,' from *na* 'now' and *man* 'even;'
- c) by the combination of the root with one or more derivative particles, e. g., Tagalog *s-um-ulat* 'write (imper. and inf.),' *s-in-ulat-an* 'was written on,' from *sulat*.

These languages are practically non-inflectional, there being no inflection except in some few instances in the pronoun and the verb, the variation being regularly at the beginning of the word. Pronouns are varied to express case, as a general thing three cases being distinguished, a nominative, a so-called genitive that is also the case of the agent and instrument, a so-called oblique that is used to represent all locative relations, place where, place whither, and place whence, including the dative and ablative of persons; e. g., Tagalog *ito* 'this,' *nito* 'of this,' *dito* 'in or to this.' In the verb differences in voice, mode and tense may be indicated by change of the initial sound of a form, e. g., Tagalog *mag-laró* 'to play,' *naglaró* 'played,' *paglaró*, passive stem of same verb, where *m* indicates the infinitive, *n* the preterit, and *p* the passive.

There is no formal distinction of gender even in the case of the pronouns of the third person. Whenever it is necessary to indicate the gender expressly, words meaning 'male' and 'female' must be used in connection with the epicene noun or pronoun, e. g., from Tagalog *kabayo* 'horse,' *kabayo-ng lalaki* 'stallion,' and *kabayo-ng babayi* 'mare;' except in the case of certain nouns of relationship, where different words are used to express difference in gender, e. g., Tagalog *ama* 'father,' *ina* 'mother.' Even with these nouns the same word often denotes a relative of either sex, and the words for 'male' and 'female' must be

used when it is necessary to avoid ambiguity, e. g., Tagalog *anak* 'son or daughter,' *anak na lalaki* 'son,' *anak na babayi* 'daughter.'

These languages possess what might be called personal articles, i. e., words of a particular nature which are placed before names of persons to denote case, e. g., Tagalog *si Pedro* 'Pedro,' *ni Pedro* 'of Pedro.'² Many of them also have an article, the so-called inclusive article, which is placed before the name of a person to denote that with him are included those who are associated with him in any way, as his companions, friends, family, etc., e. g., Tagalog *sina Pedro* 'Pedro and his associates.'

The pronoun of the first person plural has regularly two forms, one of which includes, while the other excludes, the person addressed; for example, a Tagalog might say to a Spaniard *tayo-ng kristiano* 'we Christians,' using the inclusive 'we' *tayo*, but *kami-ng Tagalog* 'we Tagalogs,' using the exclusive 'we' *kami*.³

An extensive use is made of certain particles called ligatures to connect words, phrases, and sentences which stand to one another in the relation of modifier and modified.⁴ They stand for example between adjective and noun; verb and adverb; noun or verb and dependent clause, in this case playing the part

¹ These remarks apply also to the expression of gender in Malay, (cf. Marsden, *op. cit.* p. 29; Crawford, *A Gram. and Dict. of the Malay Lang.*, London, 1852, vol. i, p. 10; Seidel, *Praktische Gram. der Malayischen Sprache*, Hartleben's Verlag [Wien, Pest, Leipzig], p. 18); and in Javanese (cf. Bohatta, *Praktische Gram. der Javanischen Sprache*, Hartleben's Verl.), p. 31.

² Personal articles are found also in Malay and Madagascan; in Malay it is *si*, cf. Favre, *Grammaire de la langue malaise*, Vienne, 1876, pp. 59, 92. The principal ones in Madagascan are *i* and *ra*, cf. Brandstetter, *Tagalen und Madagassen*, Luzern, 1902, p. 79 f.; Parker, *A concise Gram. of the Malagasy Language*, London, 1883, p. 47.

³ The same distinction is made also in Malay between *kita* (inc.) and *kami* (exc.), and in Madagascan between *isika* (inc.) and *izahay* (exc.); cf. Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴ Traces of similar particles are found in Madagascan and some other Malayan languages, cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, pp. 76, 83. In languages of other families, similar particles are the connective *i* in modern Persian (cf. Salemann and Shukovski, *op. cit.*, p. 30, § 16), and the genitive sign *n* in Egyptian and Coptic (cf. Ermann, *Ägyptische Gram.* 2^{te} Aufl., Berlin, 1902, p. 64; Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f., 83).

of relative pronouns and subordinate conjunctions; e. g., in Tagalog *tawo-ng mabuti* 'good man,' *mabuti-ng ginawd* 'well done,' *tawo-ng minamahal nang lahat* 'a man who is esteemed by all,' the modifier and modified are connected by the ligature *-ng*.

The ideas of 'to be in a place' and 'to have' are not expressed by verbs, but by particles which may be called quasi-verbs, in Tagalog *na*, *may*, e. g., *ang libro'y na sa lamesa* 'the book is on the table;' *ito-ng tawo'y may asawa* 'this man has a wife.'

Verbs are generally made by combining derivative particles with the root. These particles are very numerous and their uses very various. By means of them voice, mode, and tense are distinguished, and also a variety of other modifications of the verbal meaning, such as the causative, emphatic, etc.; for example from a root *aral* in Tagalog are formed,

<i>um-aral</i> 'teach.'	<i>magsi-aral</i> 'teach (of many).'
<i>mag-aral</i> 'study, learn.'	<i>maggaka-aral</i> 'teach earnestly.'
<i>mang-aral</i> 'preach.'	<i>ungm-aral</i> 'taught.'
<i>maka-aral</i> 'be able to teach.'	<i>nag-aral</i> 'learned.'
<i>magpa-aral</i> 'order, command to teach.'	<i>aralin</i> 'be taught.'
	<i>inaral</i> 'was taught.'
<i>maki-aral</i> 'join with someone in teaching.'	<i>pag-aral-in</i> 'be studied.'
	<i>pinag-aral</i> 'was studied.'
<i>pa-aral</i> 'ask for instruction.'	etc., etc.

Perhaps the most salient feature of these languages is the prevailing use of the passive construction, active verbs not being used except when the agent is the most emphatic element of the sentence; for example in Tagalog in the sentence 'he is reading a book,' 'he' is more emphatic than the indefinite 'book,' hence the active is used, viz., *siya'y bungmabasa nang libro*, while in the sentence 'he is reading this book' the definite object is ordinarily more emphatic than the agent, hence the passive is employed, e. g., *ito-ng libro'y binabasa niya*.¹

In the present imperfect state of our knowledge of the Philippine languages any complete classification and subdivision is of course impracticable, but it is possible nevertheless to distinguish certain general groups.

¹ Cf. my paper, *The Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog*, in this volume of the Journal, pp. 183-189.

The most important of these is a Northern Group, including the principal languages of North Luzon and the islands to the north, viz., Batan, Ibanag, Ilokan, Pangasinan, and the Igorot dialects as far as they are known; and a Central Group, including Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan. Between these two groups lies Pampangan, which partakes in a measure of the peculiarities of both. In the south the dialects of the Magindanao and Malanao Moros belong together, while Bagobo and Sulu occupy isolated positions, Sulu being more like Malay than any of the other Philippine languages. The principal phonetic difference between the languages of the Northern and Central Groups is that the former have no *h* sound (cf. below, p. 335).

The principal differences in grammatical structure between these two groups are the following.

In general the languages of the Northern Group form their plural by reduplication of the singular, e. g., Ilok. *balay* 'house,' *balbalay* 'houses.' The languages of the Central Group employ a special prepositive particle *manġa* for this purpose, e. g., Tag. *bahay* 'house,' *manġa bahay* 'houses.'

The Northern Group possesses the ligature *a* which is not found as such in the Central Group, e. g., Ilok. *naimbag a tao* 'good man.'

In the Northern Group the personal pronouns have in general two forms of the nominative, an emphatic and a non-emphatic form; for example, 'I' in Ilokan is represented by *siak* when emphatic, by *ak* when not emphatic. In the Central Group as a regular thing only one form of the nominative is employed, e. g., Tag. *ako* 'I.' On the other hand, in the Central Group these pronouns have both a prepositive and a postpositive form of the genitive, e. g., Tag. *aking ulo* and *ulo ko* 'my head;' while in the Northern Group only postpositive forms are found, e. g., Ilok. *balay ko* 'my house,' *aso-k* 'my dog.'

As a general thing the languages of the Northern Group distinguish only two tense forms of the verb, viz., a preterit and a form to represent all the other tenses, e. g., Ilok., *manġaramid*, pret. *nanġaramid* 'do, make.' In the Central Group as many as four tense and mode forms are distinguished, viz., a modal, used for infinitive, imperative, and subjunctive; a future; a preterit; and a present: e. g., Tag.,

maglaró 'to play.'

naglaró 'did play.'

maglalaró 'will play.'

naglalaró 'is playing.'

The languages of the Central Group possess three passive forms, by means of which not only the direct object of the verbal action may be made subject, but also words standing in other case relations of the verb, such as dative, instrumental, ablative, etc.¹

In the Northern Group this function of the verb has been still further developed, the languages of this group possessing not only three passives, but also a number of other passive verbal forms called verbals, made on the basis of the verbal noun of action with prefixed *pag*, *pan*, etc. These take the place to some extent of the *i* and *an* passives of the Central Group. Examples of these forms in Ilokan are,

daytoy ti pagpunas-mo kadagiti pinggan 'wash the plates with this (this the washing-instrument thine to the plates).'

ania nga oras ti panagmisa ti pare 'at what hour does the priest celebrate mass (what hour the mass-celebrating-time of the priest)?'

*asin ti pagsurataiyo (<*an-yo)²* 'to whom are you writing (who the writing-aim yours)?'

Pampangan, which, as was stated above, partakes in a measure of the peculiarities of both the Northern and Central Groups, agrees with the Northern Group in not having the consonant *h*, and in possessing the ligature *a*, both emphatic and non-emphatic forms of the nominative, and exclusively postpositive genitive forms of the personal pronouns; but with the Central in possessing more than two tense and mode forms of the verb, viz., future, present, and preterit, and in the absence of the verbals which are so characteristic of the languages of the Northern Group. The plural of the noun is indicated by a special form of the article as often in Ilokan, e. g., *ing tawo* 'the man,' *ding tawo* 'the men,' except in the vocative, where it is denoted by prepositive *manġa*, e. g., *manġa tawo*, as in the Central Group. A special characteristic of Pampangan is the large number of forms which the personal pronouns have in the genitive, e. g., under various conditions 'mine' is *ko*, *koo*, *ke*, *kee*, or *da*; 'his,' *no*, *noo*, *ne*, *nee*, or *na*.

¹ Cf. my paper *The Express. of Case by the Verb*, cited above.

² In Ilokan the passive endings *en* and *an* + the genitive *yo* 'you (pl.)' give *eiyo*, *aiyo*. The phonetics of the process are not entirely clear. The spelling may represent an assimilation of *n* to *y*, or perhaps a nasalization of the vowels *e* and *a*.

Magindanao seems to be more closely related to the Central Group than to the Northern, forming the plural of its nouns with *manġa*, and making three tense and mode forms, viz., present, preterite, and imperative, e. g., *sumulat* 'writes,' *sinumulat* 'wrote,' *sulat* or *panulat* 'write (imperative).' It is, however, apparently without *h*, and possesses the ligature *a* like the languages of the Northern Group. The most characteristic peculiarity of this language are the forms of the personal pronouns with prefixed or infix *l* element (cf. below, p. 372), e. g., *laki*, *salaki* 'my,' *salkitanu*, *lekitanu* 'we.'

Sulu, like Malay, possesses in the declension of its noun no special plural form or plural particle, and forms its tense by means of auxiliaries, e. g., *tōg na aku* 'I sleep,' *bakas aku matōg* 'I have slept.' The ligature, which is so characteristic of all the other Philippine languages, is here comparatively little used.

NOTES ON PHONOLOGY.¹

Original Philippine Sounds.

From a comparison of representative words in the various languages it is evident that the primitive Philippine language possessed the following sounds, viz.,

vowels <i>a, i, u</i> or <i>o</i>	Palatals	} <i>k, g, y</i> <i>ng</i> ²
Labials <i>p, b, m, w</i>	and	
Dentals <i>t, d, n, l, s</i>	Gutturals	

Cf. the following comparative list of words in the principal Philippine languages.

	'road'	'moon'	'drink'	'cook'	'five'	'eight'
Tag.	daan	buwan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Bis.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Bik.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Pamp.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Pang.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Ilok.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Iban.	dalan	tulan	inum	luto	lima	walu
Mag.	lalan		inum	luto	lima	walu
Sulu	dan	bulan	hinom	lutoh	lima	walu

¹ In general the vowels of Philippine words have the Italian pronunciation; the consonants are to be pronounced as in English unless otherwise stated.

² Written *nġ* when it stands at the beginning of a syllable.

	per. art.	'sickness'	'eat'	'sail'	'heaven'
Tag.	si	sakit	kain	layag	langit
Bis.	si	sakit	kaon	layag	langit
Bik.	si		kan	lauag	langit
Pamp.		sakit	kan	layag	
Pang.	si	sakit	kan	layag	
Ilok.	si	sakit	kan	layag	langit
Iban.	si	takit	kan	layag	langit
Mag.	si	sakit	kan	layag	langit
Sulu		sakit		layag	

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* also probably formed part of the primitive phonetic system; *ai* is usually written *ay*, *ai*, and *au*, *ao* or *au*; cf.

	'house'	'day'	'lake'
Tag.	bahay	arao	
Bis.	balay	adlao	danao
Bik.		aldao	
Pamp.	balay		
Pang.	baley ¹	ageo ¹	
Ilok.	balay	aldao	danao
Iban.	balay	aggau	
Mag.	walay		lanau
Sulu	bai	adlau	{ lanau danau

To these sounds are probably to be added,

a) an indistinct vowel *ě* (cf. below, p. 331 f.),

b) *r* (cf. below, p. 333),

c) the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 335).

and perhaps *h* (cf. below, p. 335 f.).

Remarks on the Vowels.

The letters *o* and *u* are constantly interchanged in the same language in writing, e. g., Tag. *otang*, *utang* 'debt,' and according to the statements of the grammars this graphic difference is represented by a corresponding difference in the pronunciation. Hence it is hardly possible to distinguish between primitive Philippine *u* and *o*.

¹ For the significance of this spelling with *e*, cf. below, p. 331.

There is also a similar interchange between the letters *i* and *e*, and the sounds represented by them, e. g., Tag. *babayi*, *babaye* 'woman,' but this interchange is so limited in scope, the *e* corresponding to *i* rarely occurring, that all such cases are most conveniently referred to primitive Philippine *i*.¹

The letters *e* and *o* are sometimes used to indicate the contraction of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, but usually in these cases the origin of the *e* or *o* is perfectly clear, and there is no chance of confusion with the other *e* and *o*. In the Central Group this contraction seems to be sporadic and confined to the final syllable of certain very common words, e. g., Tag. and Bis. *mey* 'have,' Bik. *dey* 'not to have,' where the writing *ey* indicates the pronunciation *ē*; Tag. *ikao'y* for *ikao ay*, where the elision of the *a* of the particle *ay* points to the pronunciation *ikō*. In Ibanag and Pampangan these diphthongs at the end of a word are regularly contracted before a possessive suffix beginning with a consonant, e. g., Iban. *bale-k* 'my house' Pamp. *balæ-mo* 'thy house' from *balay* 'house'. In Ibanag the diphthong *ay* is pronounced *eḭ*, i. e., the first element is pronounced *e* and not *a*, e. g., *patay* 'dead,' *ammay* 'rice,' in Pangasinan the first element of both the diphthongs *ai* and *au* seems to be sometimes pronounced as *e*, as is indicated by the spelling, e. g., *baley* 'village, house,' *ageo* 'day.'

Generally speaking, cognate words have the same vowels in all the different languages, *a* corresponding to *a*, *i* to *i*, *o*, *u* to *o*, *u*. In a number of words, however, the vowels vary from one language to another, in general, Tagalog *i* being represented in Bisayan and Bikol by *o* or *u*; in Ilokan, Pangasinan, and Magindanao by *ē*; in Ibanag and Pampangan by *a*; e. g.,

	'rice'	'hear'	'room'	(passive suffix)	'six'
Tag.	bigas	dinḡig	silid	-in	anim
Bis.	bugas	dunḡug	sulud	-on	unum
Bik.		danḡog		-on	anum
Ilok.	bagas	denḡeg	silid	-en	innem
Pang.		denḡel		-en	anem
Mag.	begas			-en	anem
Iban.	baggat			-an	annam
Pamp.				-an	anam

¹ In this article, unless otherwise stated, *o* and *u*, and *i* and *e*, are respectively considered as equivalent.

It is quite possible that this varied vocalism is the representation of a fourth primitive Philippine vowel, an indistinct vowel like the Indo-European shewa,¹ which in a similar way is represented by several different vowels in the various Indo-European languages.²

In Sulu there is a vowel corresponding to the German *ü*, e. g., *tüd* 'very,' *bukün* 'it is not.' This, however, seems to be a secondary Sulu development, words containing it having in some cases by-forms with *a* or *o*, *u*, or corresponding to forms with these vowels in the cognate languages, e. g., *maisüg*, *maisog* 'bold, intrepid' (Bis. *maisog*); *daküp*, *dakap* 'embrace' (Malay *dakap*).

Remarks on the Consonants.

Labials.

A final *p* in Ibanag regularly becomes the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 336).

In some of the languages of the Northern Group *p* and *b* pass at times into the spirants *f* and *v*. In Ibanag this change regularly takes place when original *p* is followed by *u* or *o*, e. g., *fulu* 'ten' (Pang. and Bis. *polo*, Magin. *pulu*, etc.). In Nabaloi Igorot *p* and *f* are often used interchangeably in the same word, e. g., *apil* or *afil* 'different;' in others the *p* or *f* respectively are constant, e. g., *palit* 'dear,' *andufit* 'soft.'

In Bontoc Igorot, and also in the northern part of the Nabaloi territory, there is a similar interchange between *b* and *f*, e. g., Bont. *babayi* and *fafayi* 'woman,' Nab. *balei* and *fulei* 'house.'

In Ibanag, just as *pu* becomes *fu*, *bu* becomes *vu*, the *b*, however, being still retained in spelling, e. g., *buaya* 'cayman.'

The sound *v* occurs in the one word *asivi* 'small' in Sulu.

In Magindanao a *b* sometimes becomes *w* (written *u*), e. g., *vato* 'stone,' *uata* 'boy,' *ualay* 'house' (Tag. *bato*, *bata*, Bis. *balay*); but it is sometimes preserved, e. g., *babay* 'woman,' *nġibu* 'thousand' (Tag. *babayi*, *libo*).

In Nabaloi Igorot original *wa* regularly becomes *gwa* (written *gua* or *goa*), e. g., *gualo* 'eight,' *asagoa* 'spouse' (Tag. *walo*, *asawa*).

¹ Cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, p. 34.

² Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl. Gram. der indogerm. Sprachen*, 2^{te} Bearb., Strassburg, 1897, Bd. 1, p. 170.

Dentals.

In Ibanag the combination *ti* regularly becomes *si*, e. g., *sinakao* 'robbed' from a root *takao* with infix *in*. An original final *t* regularly becomes the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 336).

A *d* of the other languages is regularly represented by the affricative *ch* in Nabaloi Igorot, e. g., *chalan* 'road,' *achalem* 'deep' (Ilok. *dalan*, *adalem*), and in Bontoc Igorot the two sounds are used interchangeably, as in the place names *Chakong* or *Dakong*, *Pudpudchog* or *Pudpuddog*.

In Ibanag the combination *di* when not preceded by *a* (in which case *d* > *r*, cf. below, becomes *ži* (written *jž*), e. g., *jinakay* 'leprous' from the root *dakay*.

In Ibanag an *s* not followed by *i* seems to be regularly changed to *t*, e. g., *ataua* 'spouse' (Tag. *asawa*), *takit* 'sickness' (Tag. *sakit*) *ta* 'to, in the, etc.' (Tag. *sa*); but *si* the personal article (Tag. *si*).

One of the most complex chapters of Philippine phonology is that which is concerned with the interrelations of the sounds *d*, *r*, *l*.

In a number of words an Ibanag, Ilokan, Bikol, and Samaro-Leytean *r* corresponds to a Tagalog, Bisayan (except Sam.-Ley.), Pampangan Pangasinan, Magindanao and Sulu *l*, e. g.,

	'write'	'silver'	'thousand'	'how much?'
Iban.	surat	pirak	ribu	
Ilok.	surat	pirak	ribo	
Bik.	surat	pirak	ribo	pira
Sam.-Ley.	surat		ribo ('million')	pira
Tag.	sulat	pilak	libo	
Bis.	sulat	pilak	libo	pila
Pamp.	sulat		libo	pilan
Pang.	sulat		libo	
Mag.	sulat			pila
Sulu	sulat	pelak		pela

As an original *l* is in general preserved without change in most of the languages, *r* is here probably to be regarded as the more original sound.

An original intervocalic *l* is lost in Tagalog and Sulu; in Tagalog it is represented by the glottal catch between the two vowels, or a secondary *h* or semi-vowel is developed between

them, e. g., *daan* 'road,' *bahay* 'house,' *powo* 'ten' (Bis. *dalan*, *balay*, *polo*); in Sulu the two vowels are contracted, e. g., *dan* 'road,' *bai* 'house,' *poh* 'ten.'

In Batan such an *l* seems regularly to become *g*, e. g., *ogo* 'head,' *pogo* 'ten,' *bagay* 'house,' *bugan* 'month' (Bis. *olo*, *polo*, *balay*, *bulan*). The same change is perhaps illustrated in Ibanag, Pangasinan, and Nabaloi *piga* 'how much?' (Bis. *pila*). This change from *l* to *g* probably passed through the intermediate stages, guttural *r*, and the guttural sonant spirant like *g* in the North German pronunciation of *tage* 'days.' The writing *g*, indeed, may be simply an imperfect attempt to indicate the latter sound.

In Nabaloi Igorot an *l* or *r* of the other languages is often represented by *d*, e. g., *idoko* 'Ilokan' (Ilok. *iloko*), *mabadin* 'possible' (Ilok. *mabalin*), *sudat* 'write' (Ilok. *surat*, Tag. *sulat*).

In Batan the change from *l* to *d* is also found, e. g., *dima* 'five,' *tatdo* 'three' (Bis. *lima*, *tatlo*).

An intervocalic *d* is in many of the languages often changed to *r*. So in Tagalog, Bisayan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ibanag, Nabaloi, Batan, and Sulu; apparently not in Bikol, Ilokan and Magindanao, cf.

Tag. *narito* 'is here' from *dito* 'here.'

Bis. *aruna*, *duna* 'have.'

Pamp. *kareni* 'to these' from *deni* 'these.'

Pang. *maronong* 'wise' from root *donong*.

Iban. *ikarua* 'second' from root *dua* 'two.'

Nab. *marikit* 'pretty,' cf. Tag. *dikit* 'beauty.'

Bat. *icharua* 'second,' cf. Iban. *dua* 'two.'

Sulu *ha ran* 'on the road' from *dan* 'road.'

Ilok. *ida* 'they' from *da*.

Palatals and Gutturals.

In Ibanag final *k* regularly becomes the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 336).

In Nabaloi Igorot *k* is often changed to the corresponding surd spirant like German *ch*, which may be represented by *x*, e. g., *izamen* 'mat' (Ilok. *ikamen*), *asixen* 'old man' (Pang. *asiken*).

In Bontoc Igorot *k* and *g* are constantly interchanged, e. g., *kulid* or *gulid* 'itch,' *yeka* or *yega* 'earthquake.'

In Batan a *k* in juxtaposition to an *i* sound either before or after it regularly becomes *ch*, e. g., *icha-* prefix which forms ordinals, *machi-* verbal prefix indicating accompaniment (Tag. *ika*, *maki*).

A *g* of the other languages is sometimes represented in Ilokan by *r*, the change in all probability being the reverse of the process illustrated by the change from *l* to *g* (cf. above, p. 334), e. g., *baro* 'new,' *rabiy* 'night,' *darat* 'sand' (Tag. *bago*, *gab-i*, *dagat* 'sea').

In Nabaloi Igorot *y* becomes regularly *dy*, e. g., *dyo* 'your,' *adyab* 'call' (Ilok. *yo*, *ayab*).

Laryngeals.

Under this category the Philippine languages seem originally to have possessed the glottal catch or laryngeal stop, and perhaps the surd spirant *h*. The glottal catch is not recognized as a separate sound in any of the works on the Philippine languages, but its presence in many languages is indicated by the statements of the grammars, and it probably occurs in all. For example, the Tagalog grammars speak of final vowels with guttural accent, of vowels pronounced separately from the single consonant which precedes them, and state that two juxtaposed vowels stand in different syllables. These statements are to be understood as follows. The hiatus between the two vowels in such a word as *doon* 'there' is of course identical with the glottal catch: the fact that a vowel following a single consonant begins a new syllable, as for example in *gab-i* 'night,' indicates that between the two stands the glottal catch, which really begins the second syllable: the so-called guttural accent of a final vowel seems to be really a glottal catch after the vowel; when the final vowel has at the same time the stress accent, the vowel is marked with a circumflex, e. g., *walá* 'is, has not;' when it is unstressed, with a grave accent, e. g., *wikà* 'word, language.' The glottal catch in Ibanag resulting from a final stop is of course secondary (cf. below, p. 336).

The spirant *h* does not occur in Ibanag,¹ Ilokan, Pangasinan, Nabaloi, and Pampangan, but it may have been an original Philippine sound, as it is preserved in the other Philippine languages; cf.

¹ Not given in the list of consonants.

	'wind'	'dear'	'hair'	'before'	'king'
Ilok.	anġin		book		ari
Pang.				arap	ari
Nab.			buek		
Pamp.	anġin	mal			
Tag.	hanġin	mahal	buhok	harap	hari

In Sulu a word with vocalic initial sometimes takes a secondary *h* before it, e. g., *hinom* 'drink' (general Philippine *inum*). In Tagalog, Bisayan, and Bikol an *h* is sometimes inserted between a final vowel and the suffixes *an* and *in* (cf. below, p. 337).

Other Phonetic Changes.

The final stops *k*, *p*, *t*, in Ibanag are, according to the statement in the principal Ibanag grammar, not pronounced, but the preceding vowel receives a peculiar aspiration.¹ This clearly points to the fact that these consonants have become the glottal catch, like the final *k* in Malay.² This pronunciation is indicated in the grammar by placing a dash between the final consonant and the preceding word, e. g., *a-k* 'I,' *taki-t* 'sickness.' In the present article, however, the dash will be omitted for the sake of convenience. Before this glottal catch the vowel *a* is pronounced as *o*, though *a* is usually written (but cf. *so-k* 'I').

A characteristic feature of Ibanag and Ilokan is the doubling of originally single consonants, e. g., Iban. *battu* 'stone,' *annam* 'six' (Tag. *bato*, *anim*), Ilok. *adda* 'be' (Malay *ada*).

In Ibanag the final consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, *n* are assimilated to an initial consonant in a following word, e. g., *kanak ku* 'my food' < *kanan ku*; and all final consonants are pronounced in the same syllable with an initial vowel of a following word, the change from final surd stop to glottal catch not being made in

¹ '... quedan absolutamente sin sonido, y mudas; mas debe darse en la vocal, que les precede, un golpe de aspiracion, que solo la voz de maestro puede espresar, y enseñar debidamente.' Cf. De Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Cf. Seidel, *Prak. Gram. d. Mal. Sprache*, p. 5. It is interesting to note that this final glottal catch is written ق (e. g., *انق ana* 'son') which in Arabic in general is equal to *k*+glottal catch, and which in some modern Arabic dialects has become simply the glottal catch. Cf. Favre, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 11 f.; Wahrmund, *Praktische Gram. der neu-arab. Sprache*, Gießen, 1861, p. 11.

this case, e. g., *mœlugak* 'I want' < *mœlug ak*, *ayata mapia* 'great joy' < *ayat a mapia*.

In Tagalog after a final vowel the *a* of the particle *ay* and the conjunction *at* may be elided, e. g., *ang tawo'y mabuti* (< *tawo ay*) 'the man is good,' *ama't ina* (< *ama at*) 'father and mother.' This elision may also take place after a final *n*, the *n* being lost at the same time, e. g., *iya'y mabuti* (< *iyān ay*) 'this is good,' *ama't ali*. (*amain at*) 'uncle and aunt.'

Many contractions and elisions take place in Pampangan, but the statements of the grammar on this subject are very meagre and unsatisfactory; cf., however, *kana kita* for *kana ku ita*, *iyeni* for *iya ini*, *meng* for *me ing*, *yang* for *ya ing*, *totita* for *toto ita*.

In Tagalog the suffixes *an* and *in* are added directly to a word ending in a final vowel with glottal catch, e. g., *turo-an* 'be taught;' after other final vowels an *h* is inserted, e. g., *sabi-h-in* 'be said,' *una-h-an* 'front part.' The same rule as regards the insertion of the *h* probably applies also to Bisayan and Bikol.

PRONOUNS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

The Philippine pronouns with regard to their origin may be divided into two classes, viz.,

- a) pronouns derived from monosyllabic particles,
- b) pronouns derived from dissyllabic roots.

To the second class belong the indefinite pronouns, except those derived from the interrogatives, e. g., Tag. *kaunti* 'a little' from the root *unti*, *marami* 'much' from the root *dami*; and the numerals, e. g., Tag. *apat* 'four,' *lima* 'five.'

To the first class belong

- a) the ligatures,
- b) the articles,
- c) the demonstrative pronouns,
- d) the interrogative pronouns,
- e) the personal pronouns.

The present investigation will be confined to the pronouns of the first class, which will be treated in the order named.

Pronouns derived from particles consist either of a simple root particle, or of a root particle combined with other prefixed

and suffixed particles. The prefixes are usually articular in character, and are employed to express case; the suffixes are ordinarily derived from ligatures which stood originally between the pronoun and the following word. Those pronouns that are inflected distinguish in general three cases (cf. above, p. 324), though sometimes two cases have identical forms.¹

The Ligatures.

The ligatures that occur in the various languages are the following, viz.:

Tag.	na	-ng	(-n)	ay	-y
Bis. (in gen.)	nġa	-ng			-y
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	nġa	(-ng)	-n		
Bik.	na	-ng			
Pamp.		-ng	-n	a	
Pang.			-n	a	ya -y
Ilok.	nġa		-n	a	
Iban.	nġa			a	
Bat.				a	
Ig. (Nab.)				a	
Ig. (Bon.)			-n	ay	
Mag.				a	i
Sulu					i, -y ²
Bag.					i ³

¹ In the paradigms of the pronouns all those forms that are not given as nominative or genitive in the grammars are grouped under the oblique. As the oblique is often used as the equivalent of the genitive, e. g., Tag. *ama nang batâ=sa bata-ng ama* 'father of the boy,' forms that are really oblique are often given by the grammars under the genitive, but this will occasion little difficulty from a morphological point of view. Sometimes the oblique forms are not given by the grammars, in which case they are probably to be formed by prefixing the oblique of the definite article to the nominative.

² Not specifically mentioned as ligature by the grammars, though examples of both occur.

³ Ka is also said to be a relative in the sentence *dini doon kagi ka diri nonġa olitan* 'here are words that it is not proper to reveal,' but it is here in all probability simply the genitive of the definite article used before the following clause, which modifies *kagi* 'words' just like a noun in the genitive.

The forms with dash are used only after vowels, e. g., Bis. *tawo-ng maayo* 'good man,' the others, in general, after both vowels and consonants, e. g., Bis. *tawo n̄ga maayo* 'good man,' *maalam n̄ga magtotoon* 'learned teacher.' Tagalog *ay*, *-y* are used only to join together two elements that stand to each other in the relation of subject and predicate, and then only when the subject precedes, e. g., *ang tawo'y mabuti* 'the man is good.' Bisayan *-y* is also sometimes employed in this case, but is also used as the equivalent of the other ligatures.¹

The difference between *-ng* and *-n* in those languages which possess both is difficult to determine. Often they seem to be used interchangeably; in Pampangan *-n* is used especially before an indefinite noun, like the signs of the indefinite object in Bis., and Iban. (cf. below, p. 345); e. g., *kuma ka-n danum* 'take some water.' The choice of *a* and *n̄ga* in those languages which possess both seems to be regulated by euphonic considerations: in Ilokan *a* must be used when the preceding word ends and the following begins with a consonant, e. g., *toy a balay* 'this house;' *n̄ga* must be used when the preceding word ends and the following begins with a vowel *a*, e. g., *dayta n̄ga aso* 'that dog,' otherwise the two are used indiscriminately. Ilokan *-n* is used before the adverbs *sa* and *to*, e. g., *adda-n-sa* 'is there perhaps,' *adda-n-to* 'will there be,' and has also various other uses.² In Pangasinan *ya* is used principally to join clauses, e. g., *alam so libro.ya wala-d' silid* 'bring the book which is in the room;' *-y* is used as the equivalent of *-n*, and also as a substitute for the nominative and genitive of the articles, e. g., *talo-ra-y silla=talora-n silla* 'three chairs,' *onla dia-y. Antonio=onla dia si Antonio* 'come here Antonio.' Otherwise the four forms are practically equivalent except that *-n* and *-y* are only

¹ Cf. my paper, *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, JAOS. xxv, 1904, p. 167 f.

² Cf. Williams, *Grammatische Skizze der Ilokano-Sprache* (dissertation), München, 1904, p. 64 f.

³ Contracted from *wala ed*. In Pangasinan *wala* means 'to be,' in Tagalog and Bisayan it means 'not to be,' one being affirmative, the other negative. A similar difference in meaning is presented in Semitic by Hebrew אָבָה 'be willing,' Arabic أَبَى 'abā, Ethiopic አበላ: 'abaḷa 'be unwilling, refuse.'

used after vowels. In the meager specimens of Bontoc Igorot which are accessible *-n* is used after a vowel, *ay* after either vowel or consonant, e. g., *chuwa-n lasot* 'two hundred,' *chuwa ay lifo* 'two thousand,' *siam ay poo* 'ninety' (nine tens). In Magindanao *a* is the usual ligature, *i* being used mainly after interrogative words instead of the article *su*, e. g., *tinġin i midtalu salka* 'who spoke to you?' In Sulu the ligature *i* occurs sporadically, e. g., *pela i bulan* 'how many months?' In Bagobo the ligature is used as relative.

All these ligatures seem to be derived from the four particles *na*, *nġa*, *a*, and *i*. The forms *-n* and *-ng* are shortened respectively from *na* and *nġa*; *i* after a vowel forms the second element of a diphthong and is then often written *-y*; *ay* and *ya* are probably combinations of the two particles *a* and *i*; *na* and *nġa* are perhaps simply two forms of the same particle.

The Articles.

The Philippine languages possess not only a definite and indefinite article, which are in the main equivalent to the corresponding English articles, but also a personal and an inclusive article (cf. above, p. 325).

Definite Article.

The forms of the definite article in the various languages are, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	ang	nang	sa
Bis. (Ceb.)	ang	sa	sa
Bis. (Hil.)	ang (ing)	sang	sa
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	an (in)	san, nan, kanan	sa
Bis. (Har.)	ya, nan	sa, kan, et	
Bik.	an, si	nin, ninsi, sa, kan	
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> ing	ning	king
	<i>pl.</i> ding	(ding) ¹	karing
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> so, say	na	ed

¹ Doubtless the correct form (cf. inc. art.), though not given by the grammar.

Pang.	<i>pl.</i>	{ saray, iray, ray; so saray	day na saray	ed saray
Ilok.	<i>sg.</i>	iti, ti	ti	iti
	<i>pl.</i>	dagiti	dagiti	kadagiti
Igor. (Nab.)		e ¹	ne	sun, cñi
Iban.		i	na	ta
Bat.		u, su	nu	du, (u, su) ²
Mag.		su	{ na, nu, ³ sa kana, kanu ³	sa, kana, kanu ³
Sulu		in	sin, kan	ha, pa
Bag.		yan, i	ka, ta	ka, ta

Nominative.

Forms that are apparently root particles are *ya*, *si*, *i*, *u*, *ti*. *Ya* is probably identical with the ligature *ya*; *si* is the personal article used as definite (cf. below, p. 346); *i* is probably identical with the ligature *i*; *ti* is probably identical with the demonstrative root particle *ti* (cf. below, p. 353).

Pangasinan, Batan, and Magindanao *su*, *so*, may be a root particle, or *u* with an inflectional *s* borrowed from *si*, the nominative of the personal article. Nabaloi *e* may be a variant form of *i*, or a contraction of **ay* identical with the ligature *ay*.

The forms *ang*, *an*, *ing*, *in*, *yan* seem to consist of the root particles *i* and *ya* just described, and *a* which is probably identical with the ligature *a*, followed by the ligature *-ng*, *-n*,⁴ which is regularly used in these languages between two words that stand to one another in the relation of modified and modifier, when the first of the group ends in a vowel. Originally the root particle was the article, and *-ng*, *-n* simply a connective, the *-ng* in Taga-

¹ Also given as objective along with *sun* and *chi*.

² The oblique case forms are given as *du*, *lu*, *su*, but this is almost certainly a mistake for *du*, l. *u*, *su*, l. being an abbreviation for 'or,' as in the nominative *su* l. *u*. No particle which could be connected with this apparent *lu* occurs in any of the languages, except, perhaps, in Magindanao (cf. below, p. 372) and there it seems to be a foreign element. As these forms are headed 'dat., ac., abl.' the forms *u*, *su* are probably nominatives used as accusatives (cf. below, p. 380, ft. nt. 1).

³ As these forms are given by Juanmarti in the paradigm only in connection with the following plural particle *manña*, the *u* may be a modification of *a* due to the labial *m*.

⁴ Cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, p. 78.

log *a-ng tawo* 'the man' being no more a part of the article than the *-ng* in *ito-ng tawo* 'this man.' The ligature, however, has become an integral part of the article, as is shown by the pronominal use of the article before an oblique case, e. g., Tag. *ang sa tawo* 'that of the man,' where the ligature would ordinarily not be employed.

Pangasinan *say* seems to be a combination of a root particle *sa* and the ligature *i*. Whether this *sa* is ultimately identical with the *sa* of the oblique case (cf. below) is uncertain.

Harayan *nan* is probably borrowed from the genitive, being doubtless identical with the Samaro-Leytean genitive *nan* (cf. below).

Ilokan *iti* seems to be a combination of the simpler form *ti* with an articular prefix *i* doubtless identical with Ibanag nominative *i*, and ultimately with the ligature *i*. This *i* is to be distinguished from the prepositional *i* which occurs in the identical oblique case *iti* (cf. below).

The plural forms in Pangasinan and Ilokan contain a plural element *da*, *ra*, which is identical with the root particles *da*, *ra*, *la* of the third person plural (cf. below, p. 381 f.). In Pangasinan *ra* is always followed by the ligature *i*, and it also may take the prefixes *i*, *sa*, and *so* *sa*, *i* being identical with the *i* of Ilokan nominative *iti*, *sa* and *so* with the *sa* and *so* of the Pangasinan singular. In Ilokan the plural is made by prefixing *dag*, consisting of *da*+an additional pluralizing element *g*,¹ to the singular *iti*. In Pampangan *ding*, which like the singular forms *ang*, *ing*, contains the ligature *-ng*, *di* may be a modification of *da* due to the influence of the *i* of the singular, or it may be an independent root particle (cf. below, p. 348).

Genitive.

The genitive forms that are apparently root particles are *sa*, *et*, *na*, *ti*, *ka*. *Ti* is the same as the *ti* in the nominative; *sa*, *et* and *ka* belong rather to the oblique (cf. below); *na* is probably identical with the ligature *na*.

Batan *nu* and perhaps Magindanao *nu* (cf., however, p. 341, ft. nt.) may be a root particle, or it may be *u* with an inflec-

¹ Cf. my article, *The Bisayan Dialects*, cited above, p. 127.

tional *n* borrowed from *na*. Nabaloi *ne* is either a variant form of *ni*, or *na* + the ligature *i*. Bagobo *ta* has apparently no representative in any of the other languages, Ibanag *ta* (obl.) representing an original *sa*.

The forms *nang*, *nan*, *sang*, *san*, consist of the root particles *na* and *sa* followed by the ligature *-ng*, *-n*. The forms *ning*, *nin* consist of a similar combination of the ligature with a particle *ni*, which may itself be a root particle, or the root particle *i* with an inflectional *n* borrowed from *na*.

In Bikol *ninsi* the genitive is prefixed to the nominative. Sulu *sin* is probably the nominative *in* with an inflectional *s* borrowed from the genitive and oblique *sa* (cf. below, p. 354). The forms *kan*, *kanan*, *kana*, *kanu*, seem to be borrowed from the oblique (cf. below).

The plural forms in Pampangan and Ilokan are identical with the nominative. In Pangasinan the form *day* (=plural particle *da* + ligature *i*) is probably more original than *ray* of the nominative, where the *r* is doubtless due to the analogy of the other nominative forms (cf. below, p. 382): in the form *na saray*; *na*, the genitive singular, is prefixed as genitive case sign to the nominative.

Oblique.

The forms that are apparently root particles are *sa* (including Iban. *ta*, cf. above, p. 333), *et*, *ed*, **di* (Nab. *chi*, cf. above, p. 333), *ha*, *pa*, *ka*. *Et* and *ed* are probably identical, and are perhaps to be connected with *di*; *di* is doubtless identical with the Malay preposition *di* 'in'; Sulu *ha* is perhaps to be connected with the Sulu active verbal suffixes *a*, *ha* just as the *i* of Ilokan *i-ti* is probably identical with the active verbal suffix *i* of Malay (cf. below); Sulu *pa*, which indicates motion towards, is perhaps identical with the verbal prefix *pa*, which is used to form verbs of motion, e. g., Tag. *pa-rito* 'come here' from *dito* 'here,' *pa-sa-Maynila* 'go to Manila' from *sa-Maynila* 'in Manila'; *ka* is doubtless identical with the Malay preposition *ka* 'to, towards.' For Bagobo *ta* cf. under genitive.

The form *kan* consists of the root particle *ka*+ligature *n*; Pampangan *king* consists of the ligature *ng* and a root particle *ki* which is probably modified from *ka* under the influence

of the *i* vocalism of the other forms; Batan *du* is probably *u* with an inflectional *d* borrowed from the particle *di*; Nabaloi *sun* consists perhaps of the root particle *u* with an inflectional *s* as in Sulu genitive *sin*, and ligature *n*; Ilokan *iti* consists of the root particle *ti*, and a prepositional *i*¹ identical with the *i* of the Tagalog adverbs and prepositions *sa i-babao* 'over,' *sa i-taas* 'above,' *sa i-babâ* 'below,' *sa i-lalim* 'underneath,' which consist of a root preceded by two prepositional elements *i* and *sa*. This *i* may be identical with the prefix *i* of the passive, just as in Malay *di* is both preposition and passive prefix.² The same preposition *i* seems also to occur as active suffix in Malay, where it is equivalent to the active suffix *kan*, connected with the preposition *ka*.³

In Samaro-Leytean *kanan*, Magindanao *kana*, *kanu*, *ka* is prefixed as oblique case sign to the genitive; in the plural of Pampangan and Ilokan to the nominative-genitive. In the Pagnasinan plural, *ed* is prefixed as oblique case sign to the nominative.

For the Batan forms *u* and *su*, which are identical with the nominative, cf. above, p. 341, ft. nt. 2.

Indefinite Article.

The idea of the indefinite article, whenever it is not indicated sufficiently by the nature of the construction, is expressed by the numeral one, which unlike the numerals from 'two' upward seems to be derived from pronominal particles. This numeral, however, is not inflected, but expresses its case by means of an inflected word placed before it. Its forms in the various languages are, viz.:

Tag.	isa	Ilok.	meysa
Bis. (Ceb.)	usa	Igor. (Nab.)	saxei
Bis. (Hil.)	isa, usa	Igor. (Bon.)	isa
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	usa	Iban.	itte, tadday
Bik.	saro	Mag.	isa
Pamp.	isa, metong	Sulu	isa
Pang.	isa, sakey	Bag.	sabbad

¹ Cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, p. 78.

² Cf. Favre, *Grammaire de la langue malaise*, Vienne, 1876, pp. 132, 158. Seidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 66.

³ Cf. Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

All of these forms except Pampangan *metong*, which is not clear, are derived from a root particle *sa*, which is used for 'one' in Javanese and Malay. The initial *i* of *isa* is probably the same articular *i* which has already been seen in Ilokan nominative *iti*, and which has an extensive use in the demonstrative and personal pronouns (cf. below).

Ibanag *itte* probably consists of **itta* + the ligature *i*, just as *due* 'two' is probably equivalent to *dua* + *i*; **itta* is doubtless derived from **ita* (= *isa*, cf. above, p. 333), with the doubling which is so characteristic of Ibanag (cf. above, p. 336). In Ilokan instead of the simple *i*, *mey*, contracted from *mai*, a combination of *i* and the adjectival prefix *ma*, is used, just as it is employed instead of the simple *i* of many of the other languages, in the formation of the ordinals, e. g., Ilok. *maikapat* 'fourth' (Tag. *ikapat*).

The *u* of Bisayan *usa* is probably identical with Batan *u* (cf. also below, pp. 354, 361).

Ibanag *tadday* (< **sadday*, cf. above, p. 333) is perhaps to be analyzed as root particle *sa* + *da*, root particle of third person plural, + ligature *i*, the doubling being phonetic. The second elements of Bikol *sa-ro*, Pangasinan *sa-key*, Nabaloi *sa-xei*, Bagobo *sa-bbad* are, perhaps, similar in nature to the numeral coefficients of Malay.¹

Under the head of indefinite articles are best considered those particles which indicate the indefinite object of an action. In Cebuan these are *ug*, more rarely *ak*; in Hiliguayna and Samar-Leytean *sing* and *sin* respectively: e. g., Cebuan *kumuha ka ug tubig* 'take some water.' The two last are probably identical in formation with *sin*, the genitive of the definite article in Sulu. In Ibanag a particle *tu*, perhaps identical with Batan and Magindanao *su*, Pangasinan *so*, is employed, e. g., *apam mu tu kanak ku* 'bring me something to eat.'

Personal Article.

The forms of the personal article in the various languages are, viz.:

¹ Cf. Favre, *op. cit.*, p. 71 f.; Maxwell, *Manual of the Malay Lang.*, London, 1902. p. 70 f.

	nom. gen.		obl.
Tag.	si	ni	kay
Bis.	si	{ ni { kanan (Sam.-Ley.)	{ kay (Hil., Har.) { kan (Ceb., Sam.-Ley., Hil.)
Bik.	si	ni	ki
Pamp.	i	nan	kan
Pang.	si	nen	ed
Ilok.	si, ni	ni	ken
Igor. (Nab.)	si ¹	nan, ne	sun, sikan
Iban.	si	ni	ta, takkua, tak- kuani
Bat.	si	ni	di
Mag.	si	ni, kani	kani
Sulu	hi		
Bag.	si	ni	kan

The usual nominative is the root particle *si*. In Pampangan *i*, identical with the root particle *i* of the definite article, is employed, and with this, Sulu *hi* is perhaps identical, as a secondary *h* is sometimes developed before an initial vowel (cf. above, p. 336). Ilokan *ni* is derived from the genitive (cf. below, p. 387).

The usual genitive is the particle *ni* (cf. above, p. 343). The forms *nan*, *kanan*, *ne* are to be explained like *nan*, *kanan*, *ne* of the definite article. Pangasinan *nen* seems to be the articu- lar root particle *na* + the ligatures *i* and *n*, **nain* being contracted to *nen* (cf. above, p. 331). Magindanao *kani* belongs rather to the oblique.

In the oblique case most of the forms are based on the articu- lar root particle *ka*: *kan* consists of *ka* + the ligature *n*; *kay*, of *ka* + the ligature *y*; Ilokan *ken* is probably to be analyzed, like Pangasinan *nen*, as *ka* + *i* + *n*; Magindanao *kani* consists of *ka* + the genitive *ni*: Nabaloi *sikan* is *kan* with what is apparently the nominative *si* prefixed. Bikol *ki* seems to be a modification of *ka* due to the influence of the *i* in the other case forms *si* and *ni*. Pangasinan does not distinguish between the

¹ Also given as objective along with *sun* and *sikan*.

definite and personal articles in the oblique case, *ed* serving for both, and in Ibanag the oblique case *ta* of the definite article is used either alone or in the compound forms *takkua*, *takkuani* as the oblique of the personal article. The *kua* in the compounds just mentioned is a noun meaning 'thing, possession,' which is used in Ilokan and Ibanag in conjunction with the post-positive genitives of the personal pronouns to form possessive pronouns, e. g., *kua-k* 'mine,' *kua-m* 'thine,' etc.¹; *ni* is the genitive of the personal article. Batan *di* is doubtless identical with Nabaloi *chi*, Malay *di* (cf. above, p. 343).

Inclusive Article.

The forms of the inclusive article, in so far as they are given by the various grammars, are as follows, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	sina	nina	kana
Bis. (Ceb.)	sa	na	ka
Bis. (Hil.)	sanday	nanday	kanday
	silā nay	ilā nay	sa ilā nay
	silā ni	ilā ni	sa ilā ni
	silā si	nilā ni	kanila ni
	silā sa ²		
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	sira	nira	kanda
Bik.	{ sa, sainda sa, na, ninda na na, sainda na sinda sa		
Pamp.	di	di	kari
Pang.	{ sara di. { da di sikara di { na sara di ed sara di		
Ilok.	da ³	da ³	
Iban.	da	da	takkuara

The Tagalog forms are compounded of a particle *na*, perhaps identical with the ligature *na*, and the case forms of the personal article, *ka* being used instead of *ka-y*.

¹ Cf. Naves, *op. cit.*, p. 85; De Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

² Cf. Mentrída and Aparicio, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ Cf. Naves, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 121.

Cebuan and Bikol *sa*, which occurs also in Hiliguayna *sila sa*, seems to be a modification of *si*, *a* perhaps being borrowed from the plural particle *da*, where it was felt as a plural ending. The other case forms *na* and *ka* were then made on the basis of *sa*, the nominative case sign *s* being changed respectively to *n* and *k*.

In many instances the inclusive article is based on the pronoun of the third person plural (cf. below, p. 379 ff.). In Hiliguayna, *sanday* is the pronoun *sanda* 'they' + the ligature *i*; *nanday* and *kanday* are made on this basis by simply changing the case sign: *sila nay* and its declined forms is a combination of the pronoun *sila* 'they' with a particle *nay*, probably *na*, identical with *na* in Tagalog *si-na*, + the ligature *i*: for *sila sa* cf. below. The other Hiliguayna forms consist of *sila* followed by the nominative or genitive of the personal article.

Samaro-Leytean *sira*, *nira* are identical with the corresponding forms of the pronoun of the third person plural; the oblique *kanda* is to be connected with the stem of Hiliguayna *sanday*. The Bikol forms like *sinda sa*, *ninda na*, etc., and Hiliguayna *sila sa*, consist of the forms of the pronoun of the third person plural followed by the nominative or genitive of the inclusive article *sa*; *sainda sa*, if it is not a typographical error, owes its initial syllable *sa* to the influence of the inclusive article *sa*. Ilokan and Ibanag *da* is identical with the root particle *da* of the pronoun of the third person plural. The sign of the oblique case in Ibanag, viz., *takkua-* is to be explained as in the case of the personal article. Pampangan *di* may be a modification of *da* due to the influence of the prevailing *i* vocalism of the articular forms, but the occurrence of *di* as the final element of the inclusive article in Pangasinan, where there is no such influence, seems to indicate that *di* is an independent particle: *kari* is *di* with prefixed case sign *ka*. In Pangasinan the inclusive article is made by prefixing to *di*, forms derived from the pronoun of the third person plural or from the plural of the definite article: *sikara* is identical with one of the pronouns of the third person plural; the other elements prefixed to *di* are the corresponding case forms of the plural of the definite article without the ligature *-y*.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

With regard to their meaning, the demonstrative pronouns may be divided into two general classes, A) the nearer demonstratives, which may be translated by 'this;' B) the more remote demonstratives, which may be translated by 'that.' Within these two general groups, especially in the second, there are in most of the languages further subdivisions of meaning. For example, in Tagalog, *yari* indicates something that is nearer the speaker than the person addressed, *ito*, something that is near both, *iyan*, something that is nearer the person addressed than the speaker, and *yaon*, something that is distant from both.

These more minute distinctions, however, are of practically no importance from a morphological point of view, and even in the case of the two main semantic groups, we often find what is nearer demonstrative in one, used as remoter demonstrative in another, e. g., Tagalog *ito* 'this,' Samaro-Leytean *ito* 'that.'

In general the demonstratives are made up of three elements, viz., (a) demonstrative root particles; (b) prefixed particles, usually of articular origin, which denote case and sometimes number, and which will be known as case indicating particles; (c) connective particles or ligatures, which are of two kinds, those that connect case indicating prefix with the root particle, and those that are suffixal in character, representing what was originally ligature between the demonstrative and following noun. Sometimes a demonstrative seems to contain two root demonstrative particles, viz., in Magindanao *en-tu* and in the Ibanag forms ending in *-ye*. In Bagobo an adverbial particle *go* appears as final element in some of the demonstratives.

The forms of the demonstrative pronouns in the various languages are, viz.:

Class A.		Class B.	
Tag.	N. yari, yiri, yeri G. niri O. dini N. kini, saini, sini ² G. O. nini O. kanini N. ini G. O. sini, sa sini Bis. (Sam.-Ley.) N. ini G. O. sini, sa sini N. dia G. O. karia, kadia N. ini G. O. kaini sg. N. ini G. nini O. kanini, keni pl. N. G. deni O. kareni sg. N. saya, aya, ia; so saya G. tonia; na saya O. 'ed saya pl. N. saraya, raya, iraya; so saraya	ityan niyan diyan kari, diri, dari, ² ari kana niana yana, ina sana, sina, sa sina dan karan, kadan iyan kaiyan iyan niyan kean ² dean ² karean ² satan, itan, atan, tan; so satan tontan; na satan ed satan saratan, iratan, ratan; so saratan man	yaon, yoon nion, noon, niyaon, niyoon doon kadto(t), adto niadto(t) yadto sadto, sa sadto adto, yadto sadto, sa sadto dagto karagto, kagto idto kaidto ita nita kanita, keta deta kareta saman, aman, iman, man; so saman tonman, na saman ed saman saraman, iraman, raman; so sara- man
Bis. (Ceb.) ¹			kitot, itot ² niitot
Bis. (Hil.)			iton siton ito sito, sa sito
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)			
Bis. (Har.)			
Bik.			
Pamp.			
Pang.			

	G. dania; na saraya	dantan; na saratan	danman; na sara- man
Ilok.	O. 'ed saraya sg. N. G. daytoy, toy O. itoy, iti daytoy pl. N. G. dagitoy O. kadagitoy	ed saratan dayta, ta ita, iti dayta dagita kadagita satan, sutan, suta, itan	ed saraman dediay, diay ^b idiay, iti dediay dagidiay kadagidiay saman, iman
Igor. (Nab.)	sg. N. yau, au G. nau <i>all</i> O. tau <i>declined</i> pl. N. { danau <i>in</i> { annau <i>same</i> { danau <i>way</i> G. { takkaranau O. { takkuanau	{ yara { yari	{ yad yud yojje yod yujje yora yuri yura
Iban.		{ yajje yatun ytunye	
Bat.	nooya	uri	
Mag.	inia	anan	au
Sulu	ini	ien	entu
Bag.	ini	toy	ietu toigo iaun yango, to

¹ The adverb 'to day' makes case forms like the demonstratives, viz., nom. *karon*, gen.-obl. *naron*.² Given in the Cebuan paradigms in Mentrída and Aparicio's *Hiligayna Grammar*, p. 250 f.³ In these forms *ean* represents a contraction of **aiyan*, intervocalic *y* becoming the hiatus or glottal catch as perhaps in *sia* for *siga*; cf. below, p. 381.⁴ The form *diad* is given in the paradigms as the equivalent of *ed* in the ablative case, but this is simply the adverb *dia* 'here' + *ed*.⁵ Given by Williams, *op. cit.* p. 59.

The root particles of the demonstrative are *di*, *ni*, *to*, *ya*, *au*, *na*, *ti*, *ta*, *ma*, *en*, and possibly *a* (cf. below, under *ya* and *na*). The particles *ya*, *na*, *a* are probably identical, respectively, with the ligatures, *ya*, *na*, *a*.

Di, which when intervocalic appears in many languages as *ri*, is found in Tag. *ya-ri*, *yi-ri*, *ye-ri*, *ni-ri*, all the forms of Ceb. *ka-ri*, Iban. *ya-ri*, *yu-ri*, Bat. *u-ri*, Ilok. *day-di*, *de-di-ay*, and in Nab. *sai-di-ai*, *sa-di-ai*. The root particle is found uncombined only in Ilokan. Ilokan *dediay* is *daydi* + the double ligature *ay*, *day* being contracted to *de*. In Ibanag the forms *yad* and *yud* seem to be shortened from *yari* and *yuri* respectively; and these shortened forms were then augmented by the addition of *a*, probably the ligature *a*, viz., *yara*, *yura*, and *ye*, probably contracted from the *ya* which occurs as the pronoun of the third person + the ligature *-y*, viz., *yajje* (<**yad-ye*), *yujje* (<**yud-ye*).

*Ni*¹ occurs in Tagalog oblique *di-ni* and all the forms of Cebuan *k-i-ni*, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, Bikol, Pampanagan, Sulu, and Bagobo *i-ni*, and Magindanao *i-ni-a*.

To occurs in all the forms of Tagalog *i-to*, Cebuan *k-i-to-t*, Hiliguayna *i-to-n*, Samaro-Leytean *i-to*, Ilokan *day-to-y*, Ibanag *ya-tu-n*, *ya-tu-n-ye*, in Bagobo *to*, *to-y*, *to-i-go*, probably in Magindanao *en-tu*, Sulu *ie-tu*, and in all the forms derived from the stems, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, and Samaro-Leytean *ad-to*, Harayan *ag-to*, and Bikol *id-to*. The second *t* of the Cebuan forms *kitot*, etc.; *kadtot*, etc., is probably due to incomplete reduplication. The final *ye* of the Ibanag forms is to be explained as the *ye* in *yajje* (<**yad-ye*). Bagobo *-go* is an emphatic particle which is also used in sentences with non-verbal predicate, e. g., *si kona mapia-go manobo* 'you are a good man.' The *en-* of Magindanao *entu* seems to be the same as the *en* in Sulu *i-en*.

Ya occurs in all the forms of Tagalog, Bikol, and Pampanagan *i-ya-n*; of Pangasinan *sa-ya*; in the Ibanag final syllable *ye* for **ya-i* in *yoye*, *yajje*, *yujje*, *yojje*, *yatunye*; and perhaps in Harayan *dia* (all forms), Nabaloi *iai*, Batan *nooya*, and Bagobo *yango*. Harayan *dia* probably stands for **di-ya* (cf.

¹ *Ny*, the definite article in Madagascan, is probably identical with this root particle, cf. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

sia=*siya*, p. 381, below). Nabaloi *iai* may be simply a shortened form of *saidiai*, *sadiiai*, or it may be analyzed as *ia* + ligature *i*, or as a root particle *a* preceded by articular *i*, and followed by the ligature *i*. Bagobo *yango* contains the particle *go* and an element *yan* which is probably *ya* + the ligature *n*.

Au occurs in Tagalog *y-ao-n*, *ni-y-ao-n*, and in all the forms of Ibanag *y-au*, *yoye* (<**y-au-ye*), Batan *au*, and Sulu *i-au-n*. In the Tagalog forms *yoon*, *niyoon*, the first element of the *a* of *ao* seems to have been assimilated to *o*; *nion* is contracted from *niyoon*; *noon* and *doon* seemed to be formed on the basis of *yoon*, the case signs *n* and *d* being substituted for *y*. The Ibanag forms *yod*, *yojje* (<**yod-ye*), *yora* present a blend of *yau* and the forms with *d*, having the vocalism of *yau*, and the *d* of the latter forms.

Na is found in all the forms of Cebuan *ka-na*, Hiliguayna *ya-na*, Magindanao *a-na-n*, and perhaps of Harayan *dan* if it is a shortened form of **da-na*. In the Harayan forms, however, the root particle may be *a*, identical with the root particle of Tagalog *ang*.

Ti, identical with the *ti* of the Ilokan definite article, occurs in all the forms of Pampangan *i-ti*.

Ta occurs in all the forms of Pampangan *i-ta*, Pangasinan *sa-ta-n*, Ilokan *day-ta*, and in Nabaloi *sa-ta-n*, *su-ta-n* and *i-ta-n*.

Ma occurs in all the forms of Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sa-man-n*, etc.

En occurs in Sulu *i-en* and Magindanao *en-tu*, the *tu* of the latter form being the demonstrative root particle *to*.

The case indicating prefixes of the demonstratives are, in Tagalog *i*, *ni*, *n*, *di*, *d*; in Cebuan *k*, *sa*, *s*, *di*, *d*, *i*, *kan*, *ni*; in Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean *i*, *s*, *sa*; in Harayan *d*, *di*(?), *ka*, *k*; in Pampangan *i*, *ni*, *ka*, *da*; in Pangasinan *sa*, *a*, *i*, *to*, *da*, *so*, *na*, *ed*; in Ilokan *i*, *da*, *dag*; in Nabaloi *sa*, *su*, *i*; in Ibanag *i*, *n*, *t*, *da*, *an* (?), *takka*, *takkua*; in Batan *u*; in Magindanao *a*, *i*, in Sulu and Bagobo *i*.

The prefix *i* (*y* before a vowel) which is found in most of the languages as the sign of the nominative case is apparently identical with the articular root particle *i*.¹ The *i* of the oblique

¹ This *i* is found also in the Malay demonstratives *i-ni* 'this,' *i-tu* 'that,' and in all the demonstratives in Madagascan, e. g., *i-ty* 'this,' cf. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

singular in Ilokan, however, is probably a prepositional particle (cf. above, p. 344). Batan *u* is identical with the *u* of the definite article; *ni*, the most common sign of the genitive, is identical with the *ni* of the personal article: *sa*, *ka*, *kan*, *di* and *tak-kua* are identical with articular oblique forms *sa*, *ka*, *kan*, *di* and *takkua*; *da* is the root particle of the third person plural that has already been met with in the articles; in Ilokan the *da* seems to have lost its plural force, being used as a simple initial demonstrative element in both singular and plural, the plural being indicated by *da* with an additional plural sign *g*, viz., *dag*; Pangasinan *so*, *na*, *ed* are case forms of the definite article; Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sa* is identical with the *sa* of the article *say*; Pangasinan and Magindanao *a* is probably the same *a* as in Tagalog *ang*; Pangasinan *to* is the genitive of the pronoun of the third person singular; Nabaloi *su* is to be connected with the articles, Pangasinan *so*, Magindanao *su*; Pampangan *ke* and *de* are contracted respectively from *ka-i* and *da-i*, with articular *i*; Ibanag *takka* is a double oblique sign, standing for **ta-ka* < **sa-ka* (cf. above, pp. 333, 336); for *an* of the Ibanag nominative plural, cf. below, p. 356 f.

When the case sign consists of a single consonant it is usually to be explained as derived from forms with a fuller case sign under the influence of proportional analogy. For example, the *s* of the genitive-oblique in Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean is probably derived from *sa*, a series like Samaro-Leytean *adto*, *sadto* (< *sa-adto*) giving rise to forms like *sini*, *sito* on the basis of *ini*, *ito*. Similarly Tagalog *n* and *d* in the forms *noon*, *doon* are probably derived from the fuller forms *ni* and *di*; Cebuan and Harayan *k*, *sa*, *s*, and *d* of the nominative are probably based on the articular oblique forms *ka*, *sa* and *di* (for the use of these oblique forms in the nominative, cf. below, p. 388); Harayan *k* in *kagto* is certainly derived from the oblique form *ka*; Ibanag *n* and *t* of the genitive and oblique respectively seem to be derived from the articular forms *na* and *ta*.

Sometimes the case signs are prefixed to a case form, sometimes directly to the demonstrative root particle, sometimes to a demonstrative stem consisting of a root particle combined with a prefix, usually articular in character. These prefixes are *a*, *i* and *u* identical with articular *a*, *i* and *u* (cf. below, p. 361), and *ad*, *id*, *ag* of uncertain origin. It is not impossible that

ad, *id* and *ag* contain the articular particles *a* and *i* followed by a connective *g*, which is preserved in Harayan, and which is perhaps related to *ug*, the sign of the indefinite object in Cebuan; Cebuan and Bikol *d* representing a partial assimilation of this *g* to the following dental *t*. Bikol *id* is probably modified from *ad* under the influence of the initial *i* of the other demonstratives *ini*, *iyān*.

In Tagalog the case signs are usually prefixed directly to the demonstrative root particle, e. g., *i-to*, *ni-to*, *di-to*. In the nominative *y-a-ri*, *y-i-ri*, the case sign *i* is prefixed to the stems *a-ri*, *i-ri*; *yeri* seems to be a modification of *yiri* due to the *r*;¹ in the genitives *ni-yaon*, *ni-yoon* the case sign is prefixed to the nominative; for other forms of *yaon*, cf. above.

In Cebuan the case signs are all prefixed to demonstrative stems, viz., *a-ri*, *i-ni*, *i-tot*, *ad-to*, *a-na*, except in the nominatives *itot*, *diri*, where the case signs *i*, *di* are prefixed to the root particle. The forms *ari*, *adto* are without case signs.

In Hiliguayna the nominative case sign is prefixed to the root particle in *i-ni*, *i-na* and *i-ton*, but to a demonstrative stem in *y-ana*, *y-adto*; the genitive-oblique sign *s* is prefixed to the first three nominatives; in the others, it replaces the nominative case sign; another series of genitive oblique forms are made by prefixing *sa* to these forms with *s*.

In Samaro-Leytean the nominative case sign is prefixed to the root particle in *i-ni*, *i-to*, but to a demonstrative stem in *y-adto*; the form *adto*, as in Cebuan, is without case sign; the genitive-oblique case sign *s* is prefixed to the nominatives *ini*, *ito*, *adto*, the genitive-oblique sign *sa*, as in Hiliguayna, to the forms with *s*.

In Harayan the nominative is made by prefixing *d* to the stems *an* (cf. above, p. 353) and *ag-to*, and *di* to the root particle in *dia* (cf. above, p. 352); the genitive-oblique is made by prefixing the case sign to the nominative, except in *kagto*, where the nominative case sign is simply changed to *k*.

In Bikol the nominative case sign is prefixed to the root particle in *i-ni* and *i-yan*; the *i* in *idto* is probably not the prefix *i*, but is due to analogical influences (cf. above); the genitive-oblique is made by prefixing the case sign *ka* to what is apparently the nominative.

¹ Cf. Nabaloi *era* 'they' for **ira*, p. 383.

In Pampangan the articular particles of the nominative and genitive singular are prefixed directly to the stem, e. g., *i-ni*, *ni-ni*; that of the oblique singular, to either the genitive or nominative, e. g., *ka-nini*, *keni* (<**ka-ini*): to form the nominative-genitive plural the plural particle *da* is prefixed to the nominative singular, e. g., *deni* (<**da-ini*), and the oblique plural is made from this form by prefixing *ka*, e. g., *ka-reni*.

In Pangasinan the nominative singular may begin with the stem as in Samaro-Leytean *adto*, or may take the articular prefixes *sa*, *a*, and *i*, e. g., *tan*, *sa-tan*, *a-tan*, *i-tan*; the nominative plural is formed by prefixing to the stem the particle *da* or its combinations with the articular prefixes *sa* and *i*, viz., *sara*, *ira*, e. g., *ra-tan*, *sa-ra-tan*, *i-ra-tan*: the genitive, singular and plural, is formed by prefixing to the stem the genitive singular and plural, respectively of the pronoun of the third person, the two elements being joined by the ligature *n*, e. g., *to-n-tan*, *da-n-tan*: the oblique, singular and plural, is always, and the other cases may be, indicated by the nominative with initial *sa* preceded by the forms of the definite article, e. g., *ed satan*, *ed saratan*; *so satan*, *na satan*, *so saratan*, *na saratan*.

In Ilokan the nominative-genitive singular may begin with the root particle, or may take the prefix *day*, a combination of the plural particle *da* and the articular prefix *i*, e. g., *toy*, *da-y-toy*; the nominative-genitive plural is formed from the nominative singular by substituting for *da* a particle *dag* consisting of plural particle *da* + a pluralizing *g*; the *da* of the singular is borrowed from the plural, where it has apparently lost its plural significance, owing to the presence of an additional plural sign *g*; the oblique singular is made by prefixing a prepositional particle *i* (cf. above, p. 344) to the short form of the nominative, e. g., *i-toy*, or by placing the oblique of the article before the long form of the nominative, as in Pangasinan, e. g., *iti daytoy*; the oblique plural is formed by prefixing *ka* to the nominative-genitive plural, e. g., *ka-dagitoy*.

In Ibanag the case signs of the singular are prefixed directly to the root particle as in *y-au*, or to a demonstrative stem as in *y-a-ri*, *y-u-ri*; in the plural the case signs are prefixed to the genitive singular, the sign of the nominative being the plural particle *da*, or a particle *an* of uncertain identity, that of the genitive, the particle *da*, that of the oblique one of the com-

pounds *takkara*, *takkuara*, equivalent to the particle *da* preceded by the oblique case sign *takka*, *takkua*. In the nominative singular there are also a series of forms without the case sign *y*, e. g., *au*: it is not impossible that the plural forms like *annau* may have been made from plural forms like *danau* by dropping the initial *d* after the analogy of pairs like *yau*, *au* in the singular; in this case the doubling of the *n* would be phonetic.

The declension of the demonstratives in the remaining languages is not given in the grammars. The cases are probably indicated by the forms of the definite article. The nominative case signs *a*, *i* and *u* occur prefixed to the root particle in Nabaloi *i-tan*, *i-man*; Magindanao, *a-nan*, *i-nia*; Sulu and Bagobo *i-ni*, Sulu *i-en*, *i-aun*; Batan *u-ri*: Sulu *ietu* is perhaps a modification of **i-tu* with articular *i*, due to the influence of the initial *ie* of the synonymous *ien*: for Nabaloi *iai*, Bagobo *yanggo*, cf. above, p. 352 f. The nominative case signs *sa* and *su* are found in the remaining Nabaloi forms prefixed to the root particle except in *saidiai*, which probably contains *sa* prefixed to a stem beginning with articular *i*.

The connective particles which are used in the formation of the demonstratives are *n*, *i* (*y*), *a* and *ai* (*ay*).

N occurs as final in all the forms of Tagalog, Bikol, and Pangasinan *iya-n*, Tagalog *yao-n*, Hiliguayna *ito-n*, Pangasinan *sata-n* and *sama-n*, Ibanag *yatu-n*, in Nabaloi *sata-n*, *suta-n*, *ita-n*, *sama-n*, *ima-n*, Magindanao *ana-n*, and Sulu *iau-n*: the same *n* occurs followed by another element in all the forms of Ibanag *yatu-n-ye*, and in Bagobo *ya-n-go*. This *n* is also used in Pangasinan to connect the genitive case signs *to* and *da* with the root particle (cf. above, p. 356). The *n* of all the forms of Harayan *dan* may also belong here (cf. above, p. 353).

I, or as it is usually written *y*, occurs as final element in all the forms of Ilokan *dayto-y*, in all the Ibanag forms with final element *ye* (< **ya-i*, cf. above, p. 331), and in Nabaloi *ia-i*, Bagobo *to-y*; it occurs followed by another element in Bagobo *to-i-go*, and in the double ligature *ai*.

A seems to occur as final element in Magindanao *ini-a*, and in the double ligature *ai*.

Ai, a combination of the two ligatures *a* and *i*, occurs as final element in all the forms of Ilokan *dedi-ay*, and in Nabaloi *saidi-ai*, *sadi-ai*, and perhaps *iai* (cf. above, p. 353).

Interrogative Pronouns.

The interrogative pronouns are of three kinds:

- a) The personal interrogative 'who?' referring to persons;
- b) the neuter interrogative 'what?' referring to things;
- c) the individualizing interrogative 'which?' referring to either persons or things.

In general the interrogatives consist of root particles, some of which seem to be of adverbial origin, combined with prefixes and suffixes similar to those of the demonstratives.

Case, in those interrogatives which are inflected, is indicated by the prefixes. The plural is indicated sometimes by the articular prefix, sometimes by reduplication, or by both together; sometimes by the suffix.

Some of the interrogatives cannot be broken up into monosyllabic particles, but for the sake of completeness they are all included in the discussion.

The forms of the interrogatives in the various languages are, viz.:

Tag.	PERS. INTER.			NEUT. INTER.
	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>	
	<i>sg.</i> sino <i>pl.</i> sinosino	nino, kanino (sa) ninonino, (sa) kanikanino	kanino (sa) kanikanino	
Bis. (Ceb.)	kinsa, kinsalan	(kansa, kansalan	sakansa) ¹	unsa, unsalan
Bis. (Hil.)	sin-o	sin-o, ni sin-o kay sin-o, kalin-o kanin-o	kay sin-o kalin-o kanin-o	ano
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	sin-o	kanay, nin-o	kanay, sa kanay, san kanay, sin kanay	ano
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> siisay <i>pl.</i> saisay	niisay naisay, kaisay	kiisay kaisay	ano
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> nino <i>pl.</i> dinino, deno	nino, kanino dinino, deno	keno kareno	nanu
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> siopa, opa <i>pl.</i> siopara	opa opara	ed siopa ed siopara	anto

¹ Little used.

Ilok.	asino, asinno, asin			ania
Igor. (Nab.)	sepa, sepay			{ dyano, nġaramto(i) nġanto
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> sinni	nini	takkuanini	anni
	<i>pl.</i> dani, danirani	dani	{ takkuarani takkuarani- rani	
Mag.	tingġin, antain			nġain, antuna
Sulu	sio, hisio			uno
Bag.	sadan			andin

INDIV. INTER.

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> alin <i>pl.</i> alinalin		
Bis.	hain		
Bik.	arin		
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> insa, ¹ insanu ¹	ningsa, ningsanu	kingsa, kingsanu kaningsa, kaningsanu
	<i>pl.</i> dingsa, dingsanu	dingsa, dingsanu	karingsa, karingsanu
Pang.	dinan		
Ilok.	adinno, adino, adin		
Igor. (Nab.)	chinan, tua, twai		
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> yasi	nasi	tasi
	<i>pl.</i> danasi	danasi	(<i>no oblique</i>)
Sulu	hadien		

As the case forms of the interrogatives are comparatively few, they will be analyzed in connection with the discussion of the root particles.

A root particle *no* is found in all the forms of the personal interrogative in Tagalog, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean (except *kanay* and derived forms), Pampangan, and Ilokan; in the individualizing interrogative in Pampangan and Ilokan, and

¹ The initial *in* in these forms is without doubt the article *ing*; in this the most common case form of the word, *ng* has been partially assimilated to the following *s*, a change which has apparently not taken place in the other case forms.

perhaps in the neuter interrogatives *ano*, *uno*. The glottal catch in Bisayan *-n-o* is probably secondary. In Ibanag, *no* occurs in the form *ni*, in the personal, and perhaps in the neuter interrogative, the *i* of which is due to the influence of final *i* of the individualizing interrogative *yasi*.

The nominative singular of the personal interrogatives derived from *no* is made by prefixing the personal article *si* to the particle, except in Pampangan, where *ni*, ordinarily a genitive sign, but also used for the nominative in Ilokan, is employed. The initial *a* of Ilokan *a-sino* is perhaps due to the analogy of the neuter interrogative *ania*; *asin* is a shortened form of *asino*. The doubling of the *n* in Ilokan *asinno*, Ibanag *sinni*, is phonetic.

The genitive singular is made with the case signs *ni* and *ka*. *Ni* is prefixed directly to the particle *no* in Tagalo *nino*, Samar-Leytean *nin-o*, Pampangan *nino*, Ibanag *nini*; in Hiliguayna *ni sin-o* it is prefixed to the nominative. *Ka* is prefixed to the genitive with *ni* in Tagalog, Pampangan, and Hiliguayna. Hiliguayna *kalin-o* seems to be derived from *kanin-o* by dissimilation, the first *n* being changed to the related sound *l*. Hiliguayna also possesses a form made by prefixing *kay*, the oblique of the personal article, to the nominative, viz., *kay sin-o*.

The oblique case in Tagalog is identical with the genitive form with case sign *ka*, or is made by placing the oblique of the definite article before this form; in Hiliguayna it is identical with the genitive forms beginning with *k*; in Pampangan the oblique *keno* is probably a modification of *ka-no* with case sign *ka*, based on the analogy of the oblique cases with initial *ke* in the demonstrative and personal pronouns; in Ibanag the oblique case sign *takkua* (cf. above, p. 347) is prefixed to the genitive.

In Tagalog the cases of the plural are made by reduplicating two syllables of the corresponding singular form. In the Pampangan nominative-genitive plural there are two forms, viz., *dinino*, made by prefixing *di*, the root of the inclusive article, to the singular *nino*, and *deno*, probably modified from *di-no* after the analogy of the plurals of demonstratives with initial *de*. The oblique is made by prefixing *ka* to *deno*. In the Ibanag plural, *dani* consists of *ni* with prefixed plural particle

da, *danirani* is a reduplication of this form, and the oblique forms consist of the case sign *takkua* prefixed to these two forms.

It is not impossible that the neuter interrogative *ano* is a combination of *no* with an articular prefix *a*, but it may also be explained as containing the root particle *an*. The *u* of Sulu *uno*, if it is to be analyzed as *u-no*, and is not simply a phonetic modification of *ano*, is probably the same *u* which is used in Batan as definite article.

No also occurs as the final syllable *nu*, *no* of the individualizing interrogative in Pampangan and Ilokan.

This stem *no* is perhaps identical with the particle *no* which is the word for 'if,' in Ilokan, Ibanag, and Pangasinan, the ideas of 'doubting' and 'questioning' being very similar.

A root particle *sa* occurs in all the forms of the personal interrogative in Cebuan, Bikol, and Bagobo, the neuter interrogative in Cebuan, and the individualizing interrogative in Pampangan.

The initial *k* of the Cebuan personal interrogative forms is probably the same which occurs as the sign of the nominative in the demonstratives. The case in this pronoun seems to be indicated not according to the usual rule by initial inflection, but by the difference of the vowel after the initial, *i* indicating the nominative, *a* the genitive-oblique. The particles *in*, *an*, *un*, which precede *sa* in Cebuan and Pampangan, seem to consist of the articular particles *i*, *a*, *u* + the ligature; this seems to be shown by the fact that the *in* of the Pampangan forms is declined like the definite article. The final element *lan* of the Cebuan forms is perhaps to be connected with Tagalog *alin*, Bikol *arin*. The *nu* of *insanu* is to be connected with the stem *no*. The case forms of the Pampangan individualizing interrogative all consist of *sa* or *sanu* preceded by the proper case form of the definite article, except in the oblique singular, where additional forms are made by prefixing *ka* to the genitive, following the analogy of the plural.

The forms of the Bikol personal interrogative are based on an element *isay*, composed of *sa* with prefixed articular *i* and following ligature *i*. To this stem the case forms of the personal and inclusive articles are prefixed in singular and plural respectively, *ka* being equivalent to Cebuan *ka* (cf. p. 348).

In Bagobo *sa-dan*, *dan* seems to be the genitive plural of the third person, just as the *din* of *an-din* 'what?' is the genitive singular (cf. below).

This interrogative root particle *sa* is perhaps identical with the adverbial particle *sa* which means 'perhaps' in Ilokan, and in Tagalog is equivalent to the modal adverb *sana* which imparts to verbs the idea of 'should, would.'

The forms of the personal interrogative in Pangasinan and Nabaloi are clearly connected with Malay *apa* 'what?' *siapa* 'who?' *Pa* may be root particle and the prefixes articular; *o* of the Pangasinan forms being equal to Batan *u*; *se* of the Nabaloi forms, to *sa-i*, as in *saidiai* 'this;' *a* of Malay *apa*, to the *a* of Tagalog *ang*. The *si* of the Pangasinan and Malay forms is of course the personal article, and it is also not impossible that Nabaloi *se* may be some modification of *si*. The final *y* of Nabaloi *sepay* is ligature. In Pangasinan the form without *si* is used as genitive, and the oblique is made by placing the oblique of the definite article *ed* before the nominative. The plural is made by adding *ra* (<*da*) to the forms of the singular.

The root particle of the neuter interrogatives in Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Bagobo is *an*, and the same *an* is perhaps the root particle of all the other neuter interrogatives except the Cebuan and Sulu, and the forms *nġaramto(i)*, *nġanto*, *nġain*; Sulu *uno*, however, may be a modification of *ano* (cf. above, p. 361).

The *o*, *u* of Tagalog, Bisayan, and Bikol *an-o*, Pampangan *nan-u*, Nabaloi *dyan-o*, according to this view, is probably due to the analogy of *sino* or some other interrogative form containing the particle *no*; the initial *n* of the Pampangan form is doubtless derived from *nino*; the initial *dy* (= **y*) in Nabaloi is probably articular. The final *i* of Ibanag *anni*, in which the doubling is phonetic, is probably due to the same cause as the final *i* in *sinni*.

In Pangasinan *an-to* and Bagobo *an-din* (cf. inter. *sa-dan*, above) the second element is apparently the genitive of the pronoun of the third person, literally 'its what?' just as in Nabaloi the common word for 'what' is *nġaram-to* 'its name?' The first part of Magindanao *an-tu-na* seems to be identical with Pangasinan *anta*; *na* is perhaps identical with the genitive of the definite article, the root particle in this case being followed

by a double genitive. Ilokan *ania* is to be analysed in the same way, as *an* + an element *ia* equivalent to the *ya* of the third personal pronoun.

The stem *an* seems also to occur in some of the personal and individualizing interrogatives, viz., in Magindanao *antain*, Pangasinan *di-n-an*, Nabaloi *chi-n-an*.

This *an* is perhaps identical with the locative suffix *an* of nouns and verbs.¹

For Nabaloi *nġaramto*, cf. above; the *i* of *nġaramto-i* is ligature; *nġanto* is contracted from *nġaramto*, *m* being assimilated to the following *t*.

Tagalog *alin* (<**arin* cf. above, p. 333), Bikol *arin* seems to be based on a stem *ar*, the ending *in* being probably the same as the *in* in Bisayan *hain*, and perhaps Magindanao *tingġin*, *antain*, *nġain*. This suffix *in* is different from the *in* of Tagalog *ak-in* 'mine' (cf. below, p. 368), as this *in* would appear in Bisayan and Bikol as *on*, *un*, in Magindanao as *en* (cf. above, p. 331). The same stem occurs perhaps also in the Cebuan forms *kinsalan*, *kansalan*, *unsalan* which may be contracted from **kinsa-alan*, etc., *al* (<**ar*) being in this case combined with a suffix *an* identical with that in Tagalog *haan* 'where?' which bears the same formal relation to *hain* as **alan* does to *alin*. This suffix *an* is doubtless ultimately identical with the locative suffix *an*.

The Ibanag individualizing interrogative is clearly connected with the interrogative adverb *dasi*, the element *asi* being the same. This element *asi* forms its cases like the demonstrative pronouns (cf. above, p. 356 f.).

The idea of 'which?' is closely related to the idea of 'where?' as we see in the two practically synonymous expressions 'which is the road?' and 'where is the road?' Hence it is not surprising that the two ideas are sometimes expressed by the same word, as in Bisayan *hain*, Nabaloi *twa*, *twai*, Sulu *hadien*, which mean both 'which?' and 'where?'

As 'where?' is practically an oblique case, we might expect the initial syllables to be identical with the oblique case signs in these individualizing pronouns, and so they seem to be. The

¹ Cf. my paper, *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circs., No. 163, p. 65.

ha of Bisayan *ha-in*, Sulu *ha-dien* is to be connected with the oblique of Sulu definite article *ha*. This *ha* also occurs in Tagalog in *ha-an* 'where?' The *in* of Bisayan *hain* is difficult (cf. above, p. 363). For the *dien* of Sulu *hadien* see below.

The *di* of Pangasinan *di-nan*, Nabaloi *chi-nan* (<**di-nan*), Ilokan *a-di-no*, etc., and Sulu *ha-di-en* is probably identical with the oblique articular form *di*. The *nan* of the Pangasinan and Nabaloi forms is probably the interrogative stem *an* with preceding ligature *n*, used to connect the prefix to the root particle as it is in the genitive of the demonstratives in Pangasinan (cf. above, p. 356). The initial *a* of the Ilokan forms is to be explained like the *a* of *asino*; the doubling in *adinno* is phonetic; *adin* is a shortened form of *adino*, like *asin* from *asino*. The final *no* of these forms is probably identical with the interrogative root particle *no*.

The *en* of Sulu *hadien* is probably connected with the demonstrative particle *en* (cf. above, p. 353).

Nabaloi *tua* is perhaps identical with Cebuan *tua* 'be there,' the *i* of *twa-i* is ligature.

The remaining interrogative forms, Samaro-Leytean *kanay*, Magindanao *tingin*, *antain*, *ngain*, Sulu *sio*, *hisio*, are not clear. *Kanay* contains, of course, the case sign *ka* or *k*; its ending suggests a comparison with the Bikol forms; in the oblique it may be preceded by *sa* and *san*, respectively oblique and genitive of the definite article, and by *sin* the sign of the indefinite object. The Magindanao forms all have the ending *in* (cf. above, p. 363); *antain* probably contains also the interrogative stem *an*; *ngain* may be a combination of *nğa* identical with the ligature, and the suffix *in*. Sulu *sio* seems to contain the personal article *si*, which, however, is not used as such in Sulu; while *hisio* has prefixed, in addition, the regular Sulu personal article *hi*.

Personal Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are of three persons, first, second, and third; each person has two numbers, a singular and a plural, and the plural of the first person again distinguishes two series of forms, an exclusive and an inclusive series (cf. above, p. 325); the first person in some languages possesses also a dual which is

closely related morphologically to the inclusive plural; there is no distinction of gender even in the third person.

Case is indicated partly by prefixes similar to those of the demonstratives and interrogatives, partly by using different root particles and stems.

The personal pronouns consist of simple root particles, modified forms of root particles, and forms derived from the root particles by the addition of prefixes and suffixes.

First Person.

The forms of the personal pronouns of the first person in the various languages are, viz. :

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> ako	akin, ko, (nakin) ¹	sa akin
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	amin, namin	sa amin
	<i>pl. inc.</i> tayo	atin, natin	sa atin
	<i>du.</i> kita, kata	ata, kanita; ta	sa ata, sa kanita
Bis. (Ceb.)	<i>sg.</i> akó	áko, nako, ko, ta	kanako, sa ako
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	amo, namo	kanamo, sa amo
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	áto, náto, ta	kanáto, sa áto
	<i>du.</i> kitá	ató, nató, ta	kanató, sa ató
Bis. (Hil.)	<i>sg.</i> ako	akon, nakon, ko,	kanakon, sa akon,
		ta	dakon, karakon
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	amon, namon	kanamon, sa amon,
			damon, karamon
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	aton, naton, ta	kanaton, sa aton,
			daton, karaton
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	<i>sg.</i> ako, si ako	akon, nakon, ko	sa akon, dakon
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami, si kami	amon, namon	sa amon, damon
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita, si kita	aton, naton, ta	sa aton, daton
Bis. (Har.)	<i>sg.</i> ako, akota	akon, nakon, ta	kanakun
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> ako	ko, niako, sako,	sako, sakoya
		sakoya	
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	niamo, samo,	samo, samoya ²
		samoya, mi	
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	niato, sato,	sato, satoya
		satoya, ta	

¹ Used only in the phrase *a-nakin* 'inquam.'

² Written *damoya*, evidently a mistake, in San Agustín.

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> ako, ko	ko, koo, ke, kee, da	kanako, kako
	<i>pl. ex.</i> ikami, ike, kami, ke	mi	kekami, keke
	<i>pl. inc.</i> ikamo, ita, katamo, kata, tamo, ta	tamo, ¹ ta	kekatam (<i>sic</i>), kekata
	<i>du.</i> ikata, kata, ta	ta, tee, too	kekata
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> siak, ak	ko, -k	ed siak
	<i>pl. ex.</i> sikami, kami	mi	ed sikami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> sikiti, sikatayo, iti, itayo	ti, tayo	ed sikiti, ed sikatayo
	<i>du.</i> sikata, ita	ta	ed sikata
Ilok.	<i>sg.</i> siak, ak	ko, -k	kaniak
	<i>pl. ex.</i> dakami, kami	mi	kadakami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> datayo, tayo	tayo	kadatayo
	<i>du.</i> data, ta	ta	kadata
Igor. (Nab.)	<i>sg.</i> sikak, ak; nak, na	ko, -k, na, ta	
	<i>pl. ex.</i> sikame, kame	me	
	<i>pl. inc.</i> sikatayo, tayo	tayo	
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> sakan, sok, ak	ku, -k, ta	niakan, niok
	<i>pl. ex.</i> sikami, kami	mi	nikami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> ittam	tam	nittam
	<i>du.</i> itta	ta	nitta
Bat.	<i>sg.</i> yakin, ako	niakin, ko	diakin
	<i>pl. ex.</i> yamuen, kami	niamuen, namin, namuen	diamuen
	<i>pl. inc.</i> yaiatin, ² ta		
Mag.	<i>sg.</i> saki, aku	ku, salaki, laki	salaki, sa salaki
	<i>pl. ex.</i> salkami, kami	salkami, nami, lekami	salkami, sa salkami

¹ Written *iamo*, evidently a mistake, in Bergaño.

² Perhaps a mistake for *yatin*, cf. *yamuen*. The forms given as genitive and oblique of this pronoun evidently belong to the pronoun of the second person. The Batan grammar from which these paradigms are quoted by Retana (cf. above, p. 323, ft. nt. 2) is in manuscript, according to Retana (p. xl) probably a copy of the original. The personal pronouns are given in the order, 1st sg., 1st exc. pl., 2nd sg., and then follows a paradigm headed 'Plur. de yo inclusivo,' but with genitive and oblique apparently belonging to the second plural; no paradigm of the second plural is given. The copyist has evidently mixed up the paradigms of the 1st inc. pl. and 2nd pl. The forms that we should expect in 1st inc. pl. gen. and obl. are *niatin*, *diatin*.

Mag.	<i>pl. inc.</i> salkitanu, seki-	salkitanu, tanu, salkitanu, sa salki-	
	tanu, tanu, lekitanu	sa salkitanu	tanu
	<i>du.</i> salkita, sekita,	salkita, sekita,	salkita, sa salkita
	ta	ta, lekita	
Sulu.	<i>sg.</i> ¹ aku, ku	ku, kaaku	
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	kaamu, kannamu,	
		kanamu	
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	kaatu	
Bag.	<i>sg.</i> sakkan	ko	kanakkan
	<i>pl. ex.</i> ² kami, ke, si kami de		kanami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> ³ kita, si kita	ta, nita	kanita

The pronouns of the first person singular are practically all based on one of the root particles *ak*, *ko*, or *ta*.

Ak is found uncombined as nominative in Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag: also in Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Pampangan, Batan, Magindanao, and Sulu nominative *ako*, *aku*; in the *ako*, *aku* of the genitive and oblique cases in Bikol and Sulu, and in Harayan *ako-ta*; in the Tagalog and Batan stem *ak-in* and Bisayan stem *ak-on*, *ák-o* and their derivatives; in the nominatives, Pangasinan and Ilokan *si-ak*, Nabaloi *sik-ak*, Ibanag *s-ak-an*, *s-ok* (cf. above, p. 336), Bagobo *s-ak-kan*, and the oblique forms derived from them; in the Magindanao secondary stem *aki* in *s-aki*, etc.; in Nabaloi *n-ak*.

The nominative *ako* may represent a blend of the two root particles *ak* and *ko*, or it may be *ak* with an analogical *o* as in *ikao* 'thou' (cf. below, p. 375), due to the influence of other nominatives in *o* like *tayo* 'we,' *kayo* 'you.' In Harayan *ako-ta* the genitive *ta* is added to this form, probably for the sake of emphasis³ (cf. Nab. *sikam* 'thou,' p. 375, below).

The Magindanao stem *aki* probably owes its final *i* to the analogy of the forms of the exclusive plural *kami*, etc. The *n* of Nabaloi *n-ak* is not clear; the form *na*, which seems to be

¹ The noun *patek* 'slave' is also used for 'I,' as in Malay.

² These pronouns as given together in the paradigms as the equivalent of *nosotros* 'we,' but there is probably the same distinction here as in the other languages; for *ke* as exclusive plural cf. Pampangan.

³ Cf. my paper, *The Bisayan Dialects*, cited above, p. 127.

employed principally before verbal forms beginning with *k*, e. g., *na-kaama-munu* 'I am killing,' is probably a modification of *nak*, due to the fact that the final *k* of the pronoun and the initial *k* of the verb coalesce.

The Tagalog, Batan, and Bisayan stems *ak-in*, *ak-on* are made by adding the suffixes *in* and *on* to the root particle. These suffixes, which are variants of the same original form (cf. above, p. 331 f.), are found also in the passive, and in nominal derivation. When applied to a noun they express the idea of 'like, similar,' e. g., Tag. *uwakin* 'cock black as a raven' from *uwak* 'raven,' *polotin* 'honey (pet name),' from *polot* 'honey;' when applied to a verb they form passives that denote to be directly affected by the action of the root, e. g., Tag. *inumin* (*inum*) 'that which is drunk.' The meaning of the suffix in the pronouns is perhaps nearer that of the verbal suffix, Tagalog *ak-in*, for example, signifying 'that which is affected by me, that which pertains or belongs to me.' In the Cebuan stem *ák-o*, the final *n* was dropped, doubtless because it was regarded as ligature. The *ako*, *aku* of the genitive and oblique forms in Bikol and Sulu may be either the nominative *ako*, *aku*, or may correspond to the Cebuan stem *ák-o* derived from *ák-on*. The element *ya* of Bikol oblique *s-ako-ya* is not clear; it may be the demonstrative root particle *ya* (cf. above, p. 352).

The stems of Ibanag *s-akan*, Bagobo *s-akkan*, are probably identical, the doubling in the latter being phonetic, and consist of the root particle with a suffix *an*, doubtless the same as the nominal and verbal suffix *an*, which expresses the idea of place, e. g., Tag. *saginjan* 'banana grove' from *saging* 'banana,' *inuman* 'vessel (drinking place)' from *inum* 'drink.' These forms would therefore mean literally 'the I place.'

The particle *ko* occurs uncombined as genitive in all the languages except Harayan, and apparently as nominative in Pampangan and Sulu. In Pampangan it may be a shortened form of *ako*. In Sulu it is genitive used as nominative (cf. below, p. 388). The *-k* of Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag is a shortened form of *ko*. The Pampangan form *koo*, *ke* and *kee* are modifications of *ko* (cf. below, p. 387).

The particle *ta* occurs uncombined as genitive in Bisayan (except Samaro-Leytean), Nabaloi, and Ibanag. Pampangan *da* is probably a modification of this particle. It is found also in the Harayan nominative *ako-ta* (cf. above, p. 367).

The pronouns of the exclusive plural of the first person are practically all based on a particle *mi*, which occurs uncombined as genitive in Bikol, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag. It also occurs in Magindanao genitive *na-mi*, and in the nominative *ka-mi* of all the languages, and its derivatives with the various articular particles, viz., Pampangan *i-kami*, Samaro-Leytean, Pangasinan and Nabaloi *si-kami*, Ibanag *si-kami*, *ni-kami*, Ilokan *da-kami*, Magindanao *le-kami*, *sal-kami*, *sa sal-kami*, and the oblique forms derived from them in Pampangan, Pangasinan, and Ilokan. The element *ka* of *kami* is perhaps due to the analogy of other plural forms like *kayo* 'you,' *kata* 'we all, we two.'

In Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Batan, and Sulu, there is apparently a root particle *am* that forms in general the same combination as the *ak* of the singular; for example, in Tagalog, *amin* corresponding to *akin*. It is very likely, however, that all these forms with *am* are simply made on the basis of *mi*, after the analogy of the forms of the singular. The final *uen* of the Batan forms is simply the representation of *in* after the labial *m*, cf. *inumuen*=Tagalog *inumín* 'drink.'

Pampangan and Bagobo *ke* in *ke*, *i-ke* is not clear. In Bagobo a particle *de* with the same vocalization, perhaps a modification of the plural particle *da*, is used as genitive.

At the base of the forms of the inclusive plural, and of the dual when it occurs, lies the particle *ta*, doubtless identical with the *ta* of the singular, which is found uncombined as genitive plural in Bisayan, Bikol, Pampangan and Bagobo; as genitive dual in Tagalog, Cebuan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Ibanag, and Magindanao; and as nominative plural in Batan, nominative dual in Pampangan, Ilokan, and Magindanao. The Pampangan forms *tee*, *too* are secondary modifications of *ta* (cf. below, p. 387). For Pangasinan *ti*, cf. below, p. 371.

Ta occurs also, combined with articular prefixes only, in Tagalog genitive dual *ka-ni-ta* and the oblique derived from it; Pampangan nominative plural, Pangasinan nominative dual *i-ta*; Ibanag dual forms *i-tta*, *ni-tta*, in which the doubling is phonetic; and in Bagobo *ni-ta*, Ilokan *da-ta*, and the oblique forms derived from them. It is found also in Tagalog genitive dual *ata* and the oblique derived from it, where the initial *a* is prob-

ably due to the analogy of the other genitive forms of the first person. For Pangasinan *i-ti*, cf. below, p. 371.

It occurs also combined with a following root particle of the second person, which probably emphasizes the inclusive significance of the pronoun, the combinations meaning literally 'your we,' 'the *we* of which you form a part,' in *ta-yo*, *ta-mo*, and *ta-nu*. *Ta-yo* occurs as nominative inclusive plural in Tagalog, Ilokan, and Nabaloi, and as genitive in Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Nabaloi. It also occurs with various case indicating prefixes in the nominatives Pangasinan *i-tayo*, Ilokan *da-tayo*; Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sika-tayo*, and the oblique forms derived from the last two in Ilokan and Pangasinan. *Ta-mo* occurs in Pampangan uncombined as nominative and genitive, in the nominative *ka-tamo*, in which *ka* is doubtless due to the analogy of plural and dual forms with initial *ka*, like *kayo* 'you,' and the oblique *ke-katam* in which the final *o* of *katamo* is dropped;¹ it is found also without *o*, in the Ibanag forms *tam*, *i-ttam*, *ni-ttam*, the doubling in the last two forms being phonetic. *Ta-nu* occurs only in Magindanao: as all the forms of the inclusive plural have a corresponding form in the dual without *nu*, it seems more likely that *nu* was added to what are now the forms of the dual, but which had originally both inclusive plural and dual meaning, in order to differentiate between the two numbers, than that the inclusive forms were made independently upon a base *tanu*.

Ta also occurs in the plural and dual forms *ka-ta* and *ki-ta*: *ka* is probably to be explained as the *ka* in *ka-mi*; *ki-ta* perhaps represents a blend of *ka-ta* with *i-ta*, which occurs as nominative dual in Pangasinan and Ibanag, nominative plural in Pampangan. *Kata* occurs uncombined as plural nominative in Pampangan, and as dual nominative in Tagalog and Pampangan. It is found in combination with articular prefixes in Pampangan nominative dual *i-kata*, oblique dual and plural *ke-kata*, Pangasinan nominative dual *si-kata* and the oblique derived from it. *Kita* occurs uncombined as nominative plural in Bisayan, Bikol, Sulu, and Bagobo, and as nominative dual in Tagalog and Cebuan: with articular prefixes in Samaro-Leytean and Bagobo *si kita*; in Magindanao, where it is the basis of most

¹ In Ilokan the pronouns of the first and second persons plural *datayo*, *tayo*, *dakami*, *kami*, *dakayo*, *kayo*, often drop their final vowel in the middle of a sentence; cf. Naves, *op. cit.*, p. 49 f.; H. W. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 56.

of the forms of both dual and plural (cf. below, p. 373); and in Pangasinan *si-kiti* (cf. below), and the oblique derived from it.

In Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Batan, and Sulu plural there is apparently a root particle *at* which is made on the basis of *ta*, after the analogy of the singular, in the same way as the *am* of the exclusive plural. The forms based on *at* are made in the same way as those based on *am*. In Cebuan the forms based on *at* are used also as dual, with, however, a different accent.

The Pangasinan plural forms *ti*, *i-ti*, *si-kiti* seem to be modifications of *ta*, *i-ta*, *si-kita*; the final *i* being probably due to the influence of the exclusive forms *mi*, *kami*, etc.

The case indicating particles which are found in the pronouns of the first person are, in Tagalog *n*, *sa*, *kani*, in Cebuan *n*, *sa*, *ka(n)*, in Hiliguayna *n*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *d*, *sa*, in Samaro-Leytean *si*, *n*, *d*, *sa*, in Harayan *n*, *ka(n)*, in Bikol *ni*, *s*, in Pampangan *i*, *kan*, *k*, *ke*, in Pangasinan *si*, *i*, *ed*, in Ilokan *si*, *da*, *kani*, *ka*, in Nabaloi *si*, *sika*, *sik*, in Ibanag *si*, *s*, *i*, *ni*, in Batan *i*, *yai*(?), *ni*, *n*, *di*, in Magindanao *se*, *s*, *le*, *l*, *sal*, *na*, *sa*, in Sulu *ka*, *kan*, in Bagobo *si*, *s*, *ni*, *kan*, *ka*.

The prefixes *i*, *ni*, *n*, *sa*, *ka*, *di*, *d*, *da*, *ke*, *ed*, and the oblique case sign *s* of Bikol have already been explained in connection with the demonstratives (cf. above, p. 353 f.); *kani* is a combination of the two articular particles *ka* and *ni*. In the Bisayan sign *ka(n)* it is difficult to say whether the *n* belongs to the case sign or the following stem, i. e., whether forms like Cebuan *kanato* are to be analysed as *ka* + the genitive forms like *nato*, or as *kan* + the genitive forms like *ato*. *Si* is identical with the *si* of the personal article, and *s* in Ibanag *s-akan*, Magindanao *saki*, Bagobo *s-akkan*, is doubtless based upon it; Magindanao *se* also is probably based on *si*, the *e* being due to the influence of the case sign *le*. Pampangan *k* in *kako* is derived from *ka*, *a* having coalesced with the *a* of *ako*. Nabaloi *sika*, *sik* in *sikatayo*, *sik-ak* are based upon a wrong division of forms like *sikami*, a combination of the stem *kami* with the case sign *si*; in *sikak* the *a* of *sika* coalesces with the *a* of *ak*. The apparent case sign *yai* in Batan *yaiatin*, if it is not simply due to a typographical error, is the result of the reduplication of the first syllable *ya* of *yatin*, a combination of the stem *atin* and case sign *i*. Magindanao *na* of *na-mi* is identical with the genitive of the definite article: since Magindanao has been strongly influenced by Ara-

bic (cf. above, p. 322), the case sign *le*, *l*, which occurs in none of the other languages, may be the Arabic preposition **ل** *li*, which is used to express a dative and sometimes a genitive idea; *sal* is a combination of this element with the case sign *sa*.

In the formation of the cases these particles are added, sometimes to a root particle, sometimes to a modified form of a root particle or to a secondary stem, sometimes to another case form. The forms of the nominative and genitive are often without case sign.

In the nominative, Samaro-Leytean has *si* in all numbers in the forms *si ako*, *si kami*, *si kita*: Pampangan has *i* in the plural and dual forms *i-kami*, *i-ke*, *i-ta*, *i-kamo*, *i-kata*: Pangasinan has *si* in all numbers in the forms *si-ak*, *si-kami*, *si-kiti*, *si-kata*; *sika* in *sika-tayo*; and *i* in inclusive plural and dual in the form *i-ti*, *i-tayo*, *i-ta*: Ilokan has *si* in the singular *si-ak*, and *da* in the plural and dual forms *da-kami*, etc.: Nabaloi has *si* in *si-kamie*; *sika*, *sik* in *sika-tayo*, *sik-ak*: Ibanag has *si* in *si-kami*; *s* in *s-akkan*, *s-ok*; and *i* in *i-ttam*, *i-tta*: Batan has *i(y)* in all three numbers in *y-akin*, *yaiatin* (cf. above, p. 366, ft. nt.), *y-amuen*: Magindanao has *s* in *s-aki*; *se* in *se-kitanu*, *se-kita*; *le* in *le-kitanu*; and *sal* in plural and dual *sal-kami*, *sal-kitanu*, *sal-kita*; the forms with *le* and *sal* are genitive-oblique forms used as nominative: Bagobo has *s* in the singular *s-akkan*; *si* in the plurals *si kami*, *si kita*. Nominative forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle, a secondary stem, or some modification of these, are found in all the languages, Tagalog, Bisayan (except Samaro-Leytean), Bikol and Sulu having only forms of this kind.

In the genitive in Tagalog, Bisayan, and Batan there are a number of forms made on the basis of stems derived from the root particles *ak*, *am*, and *at* by the addition of the suffix, *in*, *en*, *on*. For the analogical character of the forms of the plural cf. above, pp. 369, 371. These stems occur in Tagalog and Bisayan both uncombined, and with case sign *n*, e. g., Hil. *ak-on*, *n-ak-on*, in Batan only with the case signs *ni* or *n*, e. g., *ni-amuen*, *n-amuen*.

In Bikol the case signs of the genitive *ni*, *s* are prefixed in the singular to *ako*, which is either nominative or identical with Cebuan genitive *ako*, in the plural to the stems *amo*, *ato*, made after the analogy of *ako*. In Sulu the stems *aku*, *amu*, *atu*, to

which the case signs *ka*, *kan* are prefixed, are susceptible of the same two explanations as the Bikol forms. The double *n* in *kannamu* is perhaps due to the analogy of forms like *kan-nia* 'his' (cf. below, p. 385).

In Magindanao in the singular the case signs *l* and *sal* are prefixed to the secondary stem *aki*; in the plural and dual the case signs are all prefixed to the stems *kami*, *kitanu*, *kita* except in *na-mi*, where *na* is prefixed to the root particle. In Bagobo the case sign *ni* is prefixed to the root particle in *ni-ta*. Genitive forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle or secondary stem, or of some modification of these, are found in all the languages, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag having only genitives of this kind.

In the oblique, Tagalog prefixes *sa* to the forms of the genitive beginning with *a*, and in the dual also to the genitive with case sign *kani*: Cebuano has two series of forms, one in which *sa* is prefixed to genitive forms with initial *a*, one in which *ka(n)* is prefixed to genitive forms (cf. above, p. 371): Hiliguayna has four series of forms, two like those in Cebuano, one in which the case sign *d* is prefixed to forms with initial *a*, one in which an additional case sign *ka* is prefixed to the forms with initial *d*: Samaro-Leytean has two series of forms identical with the Hiliguayna forms with initial *sa* and *d*: Harayan has apparently only one series, identical with the series with initial *k*: the Bikol oblique forms are identical with the genitives with initial *s*: Pampangan makes its oblique singular by prefixing *kan* and *k* to *ako*, probably the nominative, the oblique of the other members by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with articular *i*, *ka + i* becoming *ke*: Pangasinan prefixes *ed* to the nominative with articular *si*: Ilokan makes its oblique singular by prefixing *kani* to the root *ak*, the oblique of the other numbers by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with initial *da*: Ibanag substitutes *ni*, *Batan di*, for the case signs of the nominative: in Magindanao, the oblique case signs *sal* or *sa sal* are prefixed to the same stems as in the genitive.

Second Person.

The forms of the personal pronouns of the second person are, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka <i>pl.</i> kayo, (kamo)	iyo, mo (niyo) ¹ inyo, ninyo	sa iyo sa inyo
Bis. (Ceb.)	<i>sg.</i> ikaô, ka <i>pl.</i> kamo	imo, nimo, mo inyo, ninyo	kanimo, sa imo kaninyo, sa inyo
Bis. (Hil.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka <i>pl.</i> kamo	imo, nimo, mo inyo, ninyo	kanimo, sa imo, dimo, karimo kaninyo, sa inyo, dinyo, karinyo
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka, si ikao <i>pl.</i> kamo, si kamo	imo, nimo, mo iyo, niyo	sa imo, dimo sa iyo, diyo
Bis. (Har.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao, kao, ka	imo, nimo, mo	kanimo
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> ika <i>pl.</i> kamo	mo, nimo, saimo, simo nindo	saimo, simo saindo
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> ika, ka <i>pl.</i> ikayo, kayo, iko, ko	mo, moo, me, mee ² yo, yoo, ye, yee	keka ² kekayo, keko
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> sika, ka <i>pl.</i> sikayo, siki, kayo, ki	mo, -m yo	ed sika ed sikayo, ed siki
Ilok.	<i>sg.</i> sika, ka <i>pl.</i> dakayo, kayo	mo, -m yo	kenka kadakayo
Igor. (Nab.)	<i>sg.</i> sikam, ka <i>pl.</i> sikayo, kayo	mo, -m dyo	
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> sikau, ka <i>pl.</i> sikamu, kamu	mu, -m nu	nikau nikamu
Bat.	<i>sg.</i> imu, ka <i>pl.</i> ³	nimo, mo ninio, nio	dimo dinio
Mag.	<i>sg.</i> ka, saleka, seka <i>pl.</i> kanu, salkanu	nengka, saleka, sa salka, leka, ka salkanu, sa sal- kanu, nu, niu, lekanu	salka, sa salka salkanu, sa salkanu
Sulu	<i>sg.</i> ekau, kau, nio <i>pl.</i> kamu	mu, kannio, kanio kaimu	
Bag.	<i>sg.</i> kona, ka, si kona <i>pl.</i> kio, ko, si kio	niko, no nio	kaniko, niko kanio

¹ Used only in the phrase *a-niyo* 'inquis.'² In place of the genitive and oblique forms, which are given elsewhere in the text. the forms of the pronoun of the first person singular are repeated in Bergaño's paradigm.³ Cf. above, p. 366, ft. nt. 2.

The root particles upon which the pronouns of the second person, singular and plural, are based, are *ka*, *mo*, *yo*, and *nu*.

Ka occurs uncombined as nominative singular in all the languages except Bikol and Sulu, and also as genitive in Magindanao. It is found also in the nominatives, Sulu and Harayan, *kau*, *kao*, and with articular prefixes, Bikol and Pampangan *i-ka*, Pangasinan and Ilokan *si-ka*, Tagalog and Bisayan *i-kao*, Sulu *e-kau*, Ibanag *si-kau*, Nabaloi *si-ka-m*; in the oblique forms Pampangan *ke-ka*, Pangasinan *ed si-ka*, Ilokan *ken-ka*, Ibanag *ni-kau*; in all the forms with case signs in Magindanao. The forms in *o*, *u*, probably owe this final element to the analogy of other pronominal forms ending in *o*, *u*, like *tayo*, *kayo*. The final *m* of the Nabaloi form is probably an added genitive element of the same person, like the *ta* in Harayan *ako-ta* (cf. above, p. 367). In the Bagobo genitive and oblique forms *ni-ko*, *ka-ni-ko*; *ko* probably represents a modification of *ka* due to the analogy of the genitive *no*. The particle *ko* which is found in Pampangan and Bagobo in the plural forms *ko*, *i-ko*, *ke-ko*, is probably a blend of the singular *ka* with the final *o* of the plural form *kayo*, which *o* was felt as a sign of the plural. Similarly Pangasinan *ki* in the plural forms *ki*, *si-ki*, *ed si-ki*, is probably a blend of *ka* with the final *i* of plural forms of the first person, viz., *kami*, *sikiti*, etc.

Ka occurs also in the plural stems *ka-yo*, *ka-mo*, *ka-nu*, which are made up of two root particles of the second person. *Kayo* is found uncombined as nominative plural in Tagalog, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Nabaloi, and with articular prefixes in the nominatives, Pampangan *i-kayo*, Pangasinan and Nabaloi *si-kayo*, Ilokan *da-kayo*, and the oblique forms derived from them. Bagobo *kio* in *kio*, *si-kio*, is, perhaps, a modification of *kayo*, due to the analogy of the genitive *nio*. *Kamo* occurs uncombined in Bisayan, Bikol, Ibanag, Sulu, and in certain dialects of Tagalog, and with articular prefixes in Ibanag *si-kamu*, *ni-kamu*. *Kanu* is found only in Magindanao both uncombined and with articular prefixes. Bagobo *kona* in *kona*, *si-kona*, may represent a metathesis of **ka-no*. The *ka* of Pampangan *ka-tamo* 'we,' and of the Pangasinan and Nabaloi case sign *si-ka*, is an analogical element based on forms like *ka-yo*, *ka-mo* 'you,' where *ka* is root particle.

Mo occurs uncombined as genitive in all the languages except Magindanao and Bagobo. The genitive *-m* of Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi and Ibanag is a shortened form of *mo*: it is found also in Nabaloi nominative *si-ka-m* (cf. above). Pampangan *moo*, *me*, *mee*, are secondary modifications of *mo* (cf. below, p. 387). *Mo* also occurs with case indicating prefixes in the Bisayan genitives *i-mo*, *ni-mo* and the oblique forms derived from them, in Bikol *ni-mo*, *si-mo*, *sai-mo*, Batan *i-mu*, *ni-mo*, *di-mo*, and Sulu *kai-mu*; it is used, moreover, in the formation of the plural stems, second person *ka-mo* (cf. above), first person *ta-mo* (cf. above, p. 370).

Yo occurs uncombined as genitive plural in Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Nabaloi (*dyo* < **yo*, cf. above, p. 335). Pampangan *yoo*, *ye*, *yee* are secondary modifications of *yo* (cf. below, p. 387). With case indicating prefixes, *yo* is found in the genitives, Tagalog singular, Samaro-Leytean plural *i-yo*, *ni-yo*, Tagalog, Cebuan, and Hiliguayna plural *in-yo*, *nin-yo*, and the oblique forms derived from them; and in the Batan plural forms *nin-io*, *din-io* (*io* = *yo*); it is also used as an element of the plural stems, second person *ka-yo* (cf. above), first person *ta-yo* (cf. above, p. 370).

Batan, Magindanao and Bagobo genitive, Sulu, nominative *niu*, *nio*, which is found also in Sulu *ka-nio* *kan-nio*, Batan *ka-nio*, is probably to be analysed as case sign *ni* + *yo*, the form representing either a different spelling of *niyo*, or a phonetic variant, with *y* changed to the hiatus or glottal catch (cf. forms with *ia* for *iya*, below, p. 381). Bikol *nindo*, *saindo*, are probably modifications of forms identical with Tagalog *ninyo*, *sa inyo*, the *d* being due to the analogy of the corresponding forms of the third person plural, viz., *ninda*, *sa inda*.

The particle *no* occurs uncombined as genitive plural in Ibanag and Magindanao, and as genitive singular in Bagobo. It is also used in Magindanao in the plural stem of the second person *ka-nu* (cf. above) and as a final element of all forms of the first person inclusive plural. It is not impossible that this *no* is a modification of *mo* or *yo*, the *n* being due to the influence of other pronominal genitive forms with initial *n*.

The case indicating prefixes which are found in the pronouns of the second person are, in Tagalog, *i*, *n(i)*, *in*, *sa*, in Cebuan *i*, *n(i)*, *in*, *sa*, *ka(n)*, in Hiliguayna *i*, *n(i)*, *in*, *sa*, *ka(n)*, *d(i)*, *ka*,

in Samaro-Leytean *i*, *si*, *n(i)* *sa*, *d(i)*, in Harayan *i*, *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, in Bikol *i*, *n(i)*, *sa*, *s*, *in*, in Pampangan *i*, *ka*, in Pangasinan *si*, *ed*, in Ilokan *si*, *da*, *ken*, *ka*, in Nabaloi *si*, in Ibanag *si*, *ni*, in Batan *i*, *n(i)*, *d(i)*, *in*, in Magindanao *se*, *sal*, *sale*, *le*, *neng*, *sa*, in Sulu *e*, *ka*, *kan*, *i*, in Bagobo *si*, *ni*, *ka*.

The prefixes *i* (of nom.), *si*, *se*, *da*, *ni*, *sa*, *s*, (of gen.-obl.), *sal*, *le*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, *ke*, *ed*, have already been explained (cf. above, pp. 353 f., 371). The prefix *i* in the Tagalog and Bisayan genitive forms *i-yo*, *i-mo* is probably the same as the prepositional *i* in Ilokan oblique of the definite article *i-ti*. Whether the *i* in Batan nominative *i-mu* is this prepositional *i* or the articular *i* of the nominative is difficult to say. The *e* of Sulu *ekau*, though long, seems to be identical with articular *i* (cf. *pēla* 'how much?' = Bis. *pila*). In the Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, and Batan case signs *n(i)* and *d(i)* it is uncertain whether the *i* is this prepositional *i*, or the final *i* of the case signs *ni* and *di*, i. e. whether the forms *niyo*, *nimo*, *diyo*, *dimo*, in Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol and Batan, are to be analysed as *i-yo*, *i-mo* with prefixed case signs *n* and *di*, or as *ni-yo*, *di-mo*, etc. The case signs *n* and *d* would of course be derived from *ni* and *di* (cf. above, p. 354). Ilokan *ken* is probably contracted from **ka-i-n* with the two ligatures *i* and *n*. In Magindanao, *sale* is a fuller form of *sal*; *neng* contains the ligature *ng*; the *e* is an indistinct vowel, as is shown by the spelling *ngka*,¹ and not the result of the contraction of a diphthong; *ne* may, therefore, represent a reduced form of *nu*, the genitive of the definite article. The Tagalog, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Bikol, and Batan prefix *in*, which occurs both as initial and with additional prefixed case signs, is not clear. It may be the prepositional *i* of *iyō* followed by the ligature *n*, the prefix being thus similar to the prefixes *an*, *in*, *un*, of the Cebuan and Pampangan interrogatives. In the forms with compound prefix like *nin-yo*, *din-yo*, the *i* is of the same ambiguous character as in forms like *ni-yo*, *di-yo* (cf. above).

In general the case signs are used in the formation of cases as in the first person.

In the nominative Tagalog, Bisayan and Bikol have *i* in the singular forms, *i-kaō*, *i-ka*: Samaro-Leytean has *si* in the forms

¹ Cf. Porter, *Primer of the Moro Dialect*, Washington, 1903, *passim*.

si ikao, si kamo: Pampangan has *i* in both singular and plural in the forms *i-ka, i-kayo, i-ko*: Pangasinan, Nabaloi and Ibanag have *si* in both singular and plural in the forms *si-ka, si-kayo, si-ki; si-kam, si-kayo; si-kau, si-kamu*: Ilokan has *si* in singular *si-ka; da* in plural *da-kayo*: Batan has *i*, whether articular or prepositional *i* is doubtful, in singular *i-mu*: Magindanao has *se* and *sale* in the singular *se-ka, sale-ka; sal* in the plural *sal-kanu*: Sulu has *e=i*, in *e-kaw*: Bagobo has *si* in the forms *si kona, si kio*. Nominative forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle or plural stem, or some modification of these, are found in all the languages.

In the genitive in a number of languages secondary stems are made by prefixing prepositional *i* and the particle *in* to the root particles, viz., Tag. *i-yo, in-yo*, Bis. *i-yo, i-mo, in-yo*, Bik. *i-mo, in-do* (cf. above, p. 376), Batan *i-mo, in-io*, Sulu *i-mu*. In Tagalog and Bisayan these stems occur both uncombined and with the prefixed case signs *n*, e. g., Tag. *inyo, n-inyo*. In the other languages they are found only with case signs, Bikol *n(i), n, sa, s* in *nimo, n-indo, sa-imo, s-imo*; Batan *n(i), n* in *nimo, n-inio*, Sulu *ka* in *ka-imu*. In Magindanao the case signs are prefixed to the nominatives *ka* and *kanu; neng, le, sale, sa sal* to *ka; le, sal, sa sal* to *kanu*. In Sulu the case signs *ka* and *kan* are prefixed in the singular to the form *nio*, which though used as a nominative is formally a genitive; in the plural, *ka* is prefixed to the secondary stem *imu*. In Bagobo, *ni* is prefixed to the root particle in *nio=ni-yo*, and *ni-ko*, in which *ko* is a modified form of *ka* (cf. above, p. 375). Genitive forms without case signs, consisting of a root particle either unchanged or in some modified form, are found in all the languages, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag having only forms of this kind.

In the oblique Tagalog prefixes the case sign *sa* to the genitives with initial *i*; each of the Bisayan dialects has the same series of forms based on the genitives as in the first person, the analysis of the forms with initial *kan, di, and kari* being ambiguous. In Bikol in the singular, as in the first person, the oblique forms are identical with the genitives with initial *s*, in the plural the case sign *sa* is prefixed to the secondary stem *indo*. In Batan in the plural the case sign *d* is prefixed to the secondary stem *inio*; the singular *dimo* has the case sign *d(i)*.

In Bagobo the case sign *ka* is prefixed to the genitive in *ka-niko*, *ka-nio*; the genitive *niko* is also used as oblique. In Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Ibanag, and Magindanao the case signs are prefixed to the nominative. In Pampangan, *keka*, *kekayo* and *keko* are derived from the nominatives *ika*, *ikayo* and *iko* by prefixing *ka*; *kai* becoming *ke*. Pangasinan forms its oblique by prefixing *ed* to the nominatives with case sign *si*, Ibanag changes this *si* to *ni*. Ilokan forms its singular by prefixing *ken* to the nominative *ka*, its plural by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with case sign *da*. In Magindanao, *sal* and *sa sal* are prefixed to *ka* and *kanu*.

Third Person.

The forms of the personal pronouns of the third person are, viz.:

	nom.	gen.	obl.
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> siya	niya	kaniya
	<i>pl.</i> ¹ sila	nila	kanila
Bis. (Ceb.)	<i>sg.</i> siya ²	niya, ² iya, ² na	kaniya, ² saiya,
	<i>pl.</i> sila.	nila, ila	kanila, saila
Bis. (Hil.)	<i>sg.</i> siya ²	niya, ² iya	kaniya, sa iya, dia,
			karia, sang iya
	<i>pl.</i> { sila	nila, ila	kanila, sa ila, dila,
	{ sanda	nanda, anda	sang ila
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	<i>sg.</i> siya	niya, iya	kananda, sa anda
			kaniya, diya,
			sa iya
	<i>pl.</i> sira	nira, ira	dira, sa ira
Bis. (Har.)	<i>sg.</i> tana	ana, na	kana, kanana,
			kaniya
	<i>pl.</i> sanda	anda, nanda	kananda
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> siya	niya	saiya
	<i>pl.</i> sinda	ninda	sainda
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> iya, ya, na, ne	na, ne, nee, no,	keya
		noo	
	<i>pl.</i> ila, la, no	da, de, dee, doo	karela
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> sikato	to	ed sikato
	<i>pl.</i> sikara, ra, ira	da, ra	ed sikara

¹ The forms of the plural may also be reduplicated, e. g., *silasila*, *kanikanila*.

² These forms are also written with *ia* instead of *iya*.

Ilok.	<i>sg.</i> isu	na	kenkuana, kaniana
	<i>pl.</i> isuda, da, ida	da	kadakuada, kaniada
Igor. (Nab.)	<i>sg.</i> sikato, to	to	
	<i>pl.</i> sikara, si era, era	cha, ra	
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> ya	na	sa
	<i>pl.</i> ira	da	nira
Bat.	<i>sg.</i> ya, sia	na, nia	dia, ¹ sia ¹
	<i>pl.</i> sirā, sa	nira, dara ²	dira, sirā, ³ da, ³ ra ³
Mag.	<i>sg.</i> salkanin, sekanin, nin	salkanin, sa { salkanin, na {	salkanin, kana { salkanin sa {
	<i>pl.</i> silan, salkilan	lekanin, nin kanilan, sa kani- lan, nilan	kanilan, sa kanilan
Sulu	<i>sg.</i> sia, nia	nia, kansia, kannia	
	<i>pl.</i> sila, nila	kansila, kanila	
Bag.	<i>sg.</i> kandin, si kandin	din	kandin
	<i>pl.</i> kandan, si kandan	dan	kandan

The pronouns of the third person singular all appear to be based on one of the particles *ya*, *na*, *to*, *su*, and *nin*. *Ya* and *na* are probably identical respectively with the ligatures and articular and demonstrative particles *ya*, *na*; *to* is probably identical with the demonstrative particle *to*; *su* with the Batan and Pangasinan article *su*, *so*; *nin* is perhaps the demonstrative root particle *ni* + the ligature *n*.

Ya occurs uncombined in the nominative in Pampangan, Ibanag, and Batan; with case indicating prefix in the nominative in Tagalog, Bisayan (except Harayan), and Bikol *si-ya*, Batan and Sulu nominative *sia* (for *si-ya*), Pampangan *i-ya*,

¹ These case forms are headed 'Dat. ac. abl;' *sia* doubtless belongs to ac.=accusative; cf. above, p. 341, ft. nt. 2.

² Probably a mistake for *da*, *ra*, cf. oblique, and Pangasinan and Nabaloi genitive. The use of a reduplicated form in the plural, however, is *a priori* quite natural, and is found in Tagalog (cf. above. p. 379, ft. nt. 1), hence it is possible that the form is correct.

³ These forms are given under the head of 'Acus.'=accusative.

Sulu *nia* (borrowed from the genitive), in the genitive in Tagalog, Bisayan (except Harayan), and Bikol *ni-ya*, Batan and Sulu *nia* (for *ni-ya*), Bisayan (except Harayan) *i-ya*; and in all the oblique forms in Tagalog, Bisayan (in Harayan only in *kani-ya*), Bikol, Pampangan, and Batan. In the forms written with *ia* for *iya* we have either a variant spelling, or the intervocalic *y* has been changed to the hiatus or glottal catch (cf. *nio* for *niyo* above, p. 376).

Na occurs uncombined as genitive in Cebuan, Harayan, Pampangan, Ilokan, Ibanag, and Batan, and as nominative in Pampangan. In Harayan it is the root particle of the pronoun in all its forms with the exception of the oblique *kani-ya*. The *ta* of the nominative *tana* is perhaps to be connected with the demonstrative root particle *ta*. The initial *a* of the genitive *ana* is probably due to the analogy of the plural form *anda* (cf. below). *Na* also forms the basis of the Ilokan oblique forms *kenkua-na*, *kania-na*. The Pampangan forms *ne*, *nee*, *no*, *noo*, are probably secondary modifications of *na* (cf. below, p. 387). It is not likely that *no* has any connection with the particle *nu*, *no* of the second person.

To is found only in Pangasinan and Nabaloi, both uncombined, and with prefixed case signs in Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sika-to*, Pangasinan *ed sika-to*.

Su occurs only in Ilokan singular *i-su* with articular *i*, and in *isu*, a prefix of the nominative plural (cf. below).

Nin forms the basis of all the forms of the pronoun in Magindanao. With this *nin* the particle *din* which forms the basis of the pronoun in Bagobo is perhaps to be connected, the initial *d* being due to the influence of the plural *dan*.

What Ibanag *sa* represents is doubtful. An original *s* seems to be preserved in Ibanag only before *i*, otherwise becoming *t* (cf. above, p. 333); hence *sa* can hardly be connected with the articular *sa* of the other languages. It may be contracted from **sia* < **siya* just as perhaps *sakan* 'I' from **si-akan*, though it is difficult to see why such a form should be used as oblique.

The pronouns of the third person plural, with the exception of Batan *sa*, which is perhaps identical with the inclusive article of Bisayan and Bikol, are all based on one of the particles *da*, *ra*, *la*, which are perhaps ultimately identical.

Da occurs uncombined as genitive in Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi (*cha* < **da*) and Ibanag; as nominative in Ilokan; and as oblique in Batan. Pampangan *de, dee, doo* are secondary modifications of *da* (cf. below, p. 387). Bagobo *dan* in *dan, kan-dan, si kan-dan*, is probably *da*+the ligature *n*. *Da* is found also with case indicating prefixes in Hiliguayna and Harayan stem *an-da*, the Bikol stem *in-da*, and in the Ilokan forms *isu-da, i-da, kania-da, kadakua-da*, and in the compound case sign *ka-dakua* of the last (cf. below, p. 384). It also forms the first element of Batan genitive *da-ra* (cf. above, p. 380, ft. nt. 2). The *an* and *in* of the stems *an-da, in-da* are probably to be explained as articular *a, i* + ligature *n*, like the prefixes *an, in, un*, of the interrogative pronouns (cf. above, p. 361).

The particle *ra* occurs preceded by case signs ending in a vowel in Samaro-Leytean, Pangasinan, Nabaloi, Ibanag and Batan: *la* is found in Tagalog, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Pampangan, Magindanao, and Sulu under similar conditions; the final *n* of the Magindanao forms is probably due to the analogy of the singular. *Ra* occurs uncombined in Pangasinan genitive and nominative, Nabaloi genitive, and Batan oblique, and in Batan *da-ra* (cf. above). *La* occurs uncombined as nominative in Pampangan.

It is difficult to determine with certainty the exact relation of the three particles *da, ra, la*. *Ra* seems almost certainly to be simply a phonetic modification of *da*, in all the languages in which it occurs. This is indicated by the following facts. In all these languages *da* and *ra* occur alongside of one another (in Samaro-Leytean cf. the forms of the inclusive article), and as the change of intervocalic *d* to *r* is a common phenomenon of these languages (cf. above, p. 334), and as they seem to present no change from *r* to *d*, the supposition lies near at hand that the two are simply different forms of the same particle, *da* being the more original form. This supposition is strengthened by the evidence of Ilokan, which does not change intervocalic *d* to *r*, where the form corresponding to Pangasinan and Ibanag *ira*, Nabaloi *era*, is *ida*. According to this explanation the *r* of the uncombined form *ra* of Pangasinan, Nabaloi, and Batan would be due to the analogy of forms like *ira*, where the *r* is organic.

The particle *la* is perhaps a further phonetic modification of this *ra* resulting from original *da* after a vowel. It is true that

r resulting from intervocalic *d* is regularly retained in these languages, but as words of very frequent use often suffer special phonetic changes, it may be that in these pronouns the secondary *r* became *l* just as original *r* became *l* in these languages (cf. above, p. 333). In this case the uncombined *la* of Pampangan would be analogical like the uncombined *ra*.

It is also possible, however, to suppose that *la* is a particle distinct from *da*. If so it can hardly represent an original *la*, as in that case the intervocalic *l* would have been lost in Tagalog and Sulu, but as in the languages where *la* is found *l* often represents an *r* of the other languages (cf. above, p. 333), the original form of the particle was perhaps *ra*. If this supposition is correct, the *ra* in some of the forms may be referred to the same original particle, as original *r* is usually retained in these languages, but in just which forms, it would be difficult to say.

The case indicating prefixes that are found in the pronouns of the third person are in Tagalog *si*, *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, Cebuan *si*, *n(i)*, *i*, *ka(n)*, *sa*, in Hiliguayna *si*, *s*, *n(i)*, *n*, *i*, *ka(n)*, *d(i)*, *ka*, *sa*, *sang*, in Samaro-Leytean *si*, *n(i)*, *i*, *ka(n)*, *d(i)*, *sa*, in Harayan *s*, *n*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, in Bikol *si*, *s*, *n(i)*, *n*, *sa*, in Pampangan *i*, *ka*, *kare*, in Pangasinan *sika*, *i*, *ed*, in Ilokan *i*, *isu*, *kenkua*, *kadakua*, *kania*, in Nabaloi *sika*, *e*, *si*, in Ibanag *i*, *n(i)*, (for the case sign of *sa*, cf. above, p. 381), in Batan *si*, *n(i)*, *d(i)*, in Magindanao *salka*, *seka*, *leka*, *sa*, *na*, *kana*, *si*, *salki*, *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, in Sulu *si*, *n(i)*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, in Bagobo *kan*, *si*.

The signs *i* (of nom.), *si*, *s* (of nom.), *sika*, *i* (prepositional), *in*, *na*, *n(i)*, *n*, *sa*, *d(i)*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, *ed* have already been explained (cf. above, pp. 353 f., 371, 377).

The ambiguous signs are found in the following forms: *n(i)* in *niya*, *nia*, *nilan*, *nira*, in Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Ibanag, Batan, Magindanao, and Sulu; *ka(n)* in *kaniya*, *kanilan* in Tagalog, Bisayan, and Magindanao, in *kananda* in Hiliguayna and Harayan; *d(i)* in *dia*, *dila*, *dira* in Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, and Batan. *I* in Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Ibanag is articular (cf. above, p. 353); in Bisayan, prepositional (cf. above, p. 344); Nabaloi *e* is probably a modification of articular *i* due to the following *r*; Hiliguayna *sang* is the genitive of the definite article; Pampangan *kare* is probably borrowed from the oblique plural of the demonstratives *kareni*, *kareti*, etc.; Ilokan

isu is the pronoun of the third person singular used as case sign; *kenkua* and *kadakua* contain the noun *kua* (cf. above, p. 347) and the case signs *ken* (cf. above, p. 377), and *kada*, which is derived by a wrong division from the oblique plural forms of the first and second persons, e. g., *ka-datayo*, where the *da* belongs to the stem and not to the oblique case sign; *kania* in the forms *kaniana* and *kaniada* is a combination of the particles *ka* and *ni* with an *a* which is probably due to a wrong division of the case signs containing *kua*, viz., *kadaku-ana*, *kadaku-ada*. In Magindanao, *kana* is the genitive and oblique of the definite article; the *ka* of *seka*, *leka* and *salka* is probably due to a wrong division of forms like *sal-kanu* 'you' where the *ka* belongs to the pronominal stem and not to the case sign; *salki* may be borrowed in the same way from forms like *sal-kita*, 'we two,' or it may be the case sign *salka* with the *a* changed to *i* before *la* after the analogy of the other forms of the plural; for the elements *se*, *le*, *sal*, cf. above, pp. 371, 372.

In general the case signs are used in the formation of cases as in the pronouns of the first and second persons.

In the nominative, Tagalog, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Samaroleytan, Batan, and Sulu, prefix *si* to the root particles *ya* and *la*, *ra* in both singular and plural, in *si-ya* (*sia*), *si-la*, *si-ra*. In Hiliguayna and Harayan plural the case sign *s* is prefixed to the stem *anda*. In Bikol, *si* is prefixed to the root particle *ya* in the singular, *s*, to the stem *inda* in the plural. In Pampangan, *i* is prefixed to the root particle in singular *i-ya*, plural *i-la*. In Pangasinan and Nabaloi in the singular, *sika* is prefixed to the root particle in *sika-to*; in the plural both prefix *sika* and *i*, *e* to the root particle *da* or *ra*, and Nabaloi makes an additional form by prefixing *si* to the form with case sign *e*. Ilokan prefixes *i* to the root particle in singular *i-su*, plural *i-da*, and also makes a plural form by prefixing *isu* to the root particle. Ibanag has *i* in the plural *i-ra*. In Magindanao in the singular the signs *seka*, *salka* are prefixed to the root particle *nin*; in the plural *si* and *salki* are prefixed to *lan*, the root particle *la* with an analogical *n* derived from the singular. In Sulu the case signs *si* and *ni* are prefixed to the root particles in singular and plural, *sia* and *nia* being equivalent to *si-ya*, *ni-ya*: the forms with *ni* are borrowed from the genitive (cf. below, p. 388). In Bagobo the nominative of both numbers seems to

be identical with the oblique; the nominative, however, may take the additional case sign *si*.

Nominative forms without case sign are found in Harayan (*tana* cf. above, p. 381), Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, Ibanag, Batan and Magindanao, consisting, with the exception of Batan *sa* (cf. above, p. 381) of a root particle, two root particles (*tana*), or a modified form of a root particle.

In the genitive, Bisayan (except Harayan), as in the pronouns of the second person, makes genitives by prefixing prepositional *i* to the root particles, viz., *i-ya*, *i-la*. It is not impossible that the genitive forms *niya(nia)*, *nila* of Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Batan, Magindanao, and Sulu are based on this stem, the case sign being *n*, but it seems more likely that they consist of the case sign *ni* + the root particle. Hiliguayna, Harayan, and Bikol prefix in the plural the case sign *n* to the stems *anda*, *inda*. In Magindanao in the singular, the case signs *leka*, *salka*, *na salka*; *sa salka*, are prefixed to the root particle *nin*; in the plural the forms are based on *lan* (cf. above), the case signs being *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, and *sa ka(n)*. Sulu *kanila* has the case sign *ka(n)*; in *kan-nia*, *kan* is prefixed to the genitive; in *kan-sia*, *kan-sila*, to the nominative. Genitive forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle or stem, or some modification of a root particle, are found in all the languages except Tagalog, Samaro-Leytean, Bikol and Sulu.

In the oblique, the Tagalog forms may be based either on the genitive or the secondary stem with initial *i*, the case sign being *ka(n)*. Each of the Bisayan dialects has in general the same series of forms as in the pronouns of the first and second persons; the forms with case sign *sa* are based on the secondary stem with initial *i*; the forms *kaniya*, *kanila*, *kananda* have the case sign *ka(n)* as in Tagalog; the forms with initial *d* and *kar* have the case sign *d(i)*; in Harayan, oblique forms are made from the genitives *na*, *ana* by prefixing *ka* and *kan* respectively. In Hiliguayna there is an additional series of forms made by prefixing *sang*, the genitive of the definite article, to the stem with initial *i*; in Samaro-Leytean, in addition to the regular series, there is the form *kaniya* with case sign *ka(n)*. The Bikol forms are made by prefixing *sa* to the stems with prefixed *i* and *in*. Pampangan makes its singular by prefixing *ku* to the nominative with articular *i*; in the plural we

should expect **kela*, but the form has become *karela* under the influence of the demonstratives. In Pangasinan, *ed* is prefixed to the nominative with case sign *si*. In Ilokan the case signs are prefixed to the root particles, *kenkua* and *kadakua* in the singular and plural respectively, *kania*, to both numbers. In Ibanag the plural *nira* contains the sign *n(i)*; for the singular *sa* cf. above, p. 381. Batan has the forms *dia*, *dira* with sign *d(i)*, also *sia* and *sira* identical with the nominative. In Magindanao all the forms are identical with genitive forms, except *kana salkanin*, in which *kana salka* is prefixed to the root particle. In Bagobo *kan* is prefixed to the genitive. The only oblique forms without case sign are Batan *da* and *ra*, which are given as accusative forms (cf. above, p. 380, ft. nt. 3). These forms may be really genitives, their presence under the head of accusative being due to a mistake of the grammarian or copyist (cf. above, p. 366, ft. nt. 2).

General Remarks on Case Formation.

Generally speaking, the inflection of pronouns in the Philippine languages is initial, and is based on the forms of the articles. The nominative is often without case sign, especially in the personal pronouns, but is also frequently indicated by initial *i*, *si*, which are identical respectively with the *i* of the nominatives, Ibanag *i*, Pampangan *i-ng*, etc., of the definite article, and *si* of the personal article; it is also sometimes indicated by *s* derived from *si*.

The genitive is most frequently characterized by an initial *n*. As the ligatures *na*, *n*, are still often used between two nouns that stand to one another in the relation of genitive and modified noun, e. g. Tag. *bahay na bato*, 'house of stone,' *baro-n kastila*, 'a shirt of Spain, Spanish shirt,' it is very likely that the genitive sign *n* is derived from them.

In the personal pronouns there are a number of genitive forms without case sign. These forms, which are usually root particles, are placed after the modified word, the genitive being originally indicated simply by the postposition. Doubtless in some primitive stage of the Philippine languages, any root particle might be thus used as a genitive, but in the course of time, however, certain root particles were adapted to this use (so with *ko* and *mo* of the first and second persons respectively), others being excluded.

In Pampangan the number of genitive forms of this kind has been greatly increased by modifying the final vowel of the root particle. There are five series of these forms, the endings being *a*, *o*, *e*, *oo*, *ee*. Of the forms in *a*, all are unmodified root particles except *da* (1. sg.) [cf. above, p. 368]. Of the forms in *o*; *ko*, *mo* and *yo* are root particles; *no* (3. sg.) is modified from *na* on the analogy of these forms. The forms in *e*, viz., *ke*, *me*, *ye*, *ne*, *de*, are all secondary; the *e* may have arisen from the combination of a root particle ending in *a*, e. g. *na* (3. sg.) with ligature *i*, and then have been extended to the other forms. The forms in *oo* and *ee* are derived from the *o* and *e* series respectively by repeating the final vowel. The repetition seems to be emphatic, these forms being used when the subject of the verb of which they are the agent, is omitted.

This expression of the genitive by simple postposition has been extended in Ilokan to the other pronouns, e. g. *ti balay ti tao*, 'the house of the man,' *iti atep toy a balay*, 'the thatch of this house,' so that the genitives of the various pronouns are always identical with some form of the nominative.

The oblique case is never without a case indicating prefix, except in the doubtful Batan forms *da*, *ra* (cf. above, p. 386). It is usually characterized by an initial *d*, *s*, or *k*, derived respectively from the oblique case forms of the articles *di*, *sa*, and *ka*. These oblique case forms are prepositional in character, but have this peculiarity, viz., that they denote not only the case, but also the idea of the definite, personal or inclusive article before a following noun. For example, 'in the house' is in Tagalog not literally *sa ang bahay*, but simply *sa bahay*, the oblique *sa* expressing both the idea of 'in,' and that of the definite article.

It is quite common for forms which have oblique case signs to be used as genitives, as, for example, in the Sulu personal pronouns, and instances also occurs in which forms with genitive case sign are used as oblique, for example, in the Cebuan demonstratives and Ibanag personal pronouns.

The identity of nominative and genitive forms in Ilokan has already been mentioned. Other instances of this identity are found, especially in Pampangan and certain languages of the Northern Group, and there especially in the inclusive article,

and the plural of other pronouns. In the Sulu personal pronouns the use of genitive forms in the nominative is probably due to the fact that both nominative and genitive forms are found after the case sign *kan*, e. g. *kan-sia*, *kan-nia*, thus giving rise to the idea that the forms like *sia* and genitive forms like *nia* are equivalent.

Oblique case forms are found in the nominative in the Magindanao personal pronouns, the Cebuan demonstratives and interrogatives with initial *k*, the Harayan demonstratives with initial *d*, and the Bagobo pronouns of the third person. In the Magindanao personal pronouns the case forms are very much confused, some forms being used for all three cases. In the demonstratives, the use of the oblique forms in the nominative is probably due to the fact that certain adverbs of place, identical with the oblique forms of the demonstratives, were used as simple demonstratives, 'the there man,' or 'the man there,' being used as the equivalent of 'this man,' (cf. the use of the Cebuan adverb *karon*, above p. 351, ft. nt. 1.) The oblique case signs thus introduced into the nominative became the regular nominative case signs of the demonstratives, and in Cebuan, were also extended to the interrogatives. The nominative forms of the Bagobo pronouns of the third person are possibly to be explained in the same way, inasmuch as pronouns of the third person and demonstratives are very closely related.

The nominative forms given under the oblique in Batan are probably used only in the accusative (cf. above, pp. 341, ft. nt. 2, 380, ft. nt. 3). The difficult Ibanag oblique *sa* (3. sg.) seems to have a nominative case sign (cf. above, p. 381).

List of principal Elements used in the Formation of the Pronouns.¹

- a—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) elem. of lig. *ay*, *ya*, cf. p. 340. 3) final elem. in dems., cf. p. 357. 4) root part. of def. arts. *ang*, *an*, cf. p. 341. 5) prefix in dems., cf. p. 354, and dem. stems like *ari*, cf. p. 354 f. 6) elem. of *an*, and perhaps of *ad*, *ag*. 7) perhaps dem. root part., cf. p. 352, and root part of *e*.
 ad—elem. of dem. stem *adto*, cf. p. 354 f.
 ag—elem. of dem. stem *agto*, cf. p. 354 f.

¹ For elements of inc. art. not included here, cf. p. 348.

- ak₁—root part., 1. sg., cf. p. 367.
 ak₂—sign of indef. object in Ceb., cf. p. 345.
 al—cf. *ar*.
 am—elem. of prons. 1. exc. pl., cf. p. 369.
 an₁—prefixed elem. in Ceb. inter. *k-an-sa*, cf. p. 361, and in the stem *anda*, 3. pl., cf. p. 382.
 an₂—prefixed elem. in nom. pl. of Iban. dems., cf. p. 356 f.
 an₃—inter. root part., cf. p. 362.
 an₄—probably suffix in Ceb. inters. ending in *lan*, cf. p. 363.
 an₅—suffix of prons. 1. pers., cf. p. 368.
 ar—elem. of inters. Tag. *al-in*, Bik. *ar-in*, and perhaps of Ceb. forms ending in *lan*, cf. p. 363.
 asi—stem of indiv. inter. in Iban., cf. p. 363.
 at—elem. of prons. 1. inc. pl., cf. p. 371.
 au—dem. root part., cf. p. 353.
 ay, ai—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) final elem. of dems., cf. p. 357.
 bbad—final elem. of Bag. numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.
 chi—Nab. form of *di*.
 d₁—obl. case sign in Tag. dems., cf. p. 354; in prons. 1. pers., cf. p. 371; and in Bat. *du*, cf. p. 344: [cf. also *d(i)*].
 d₂—nom. case sign in dems., cf. p. 354.
 da, ra, la—1) root part., 3. pl., cf. p. 381. 2) elem. of pl. def. art. in Pang., cf. p. 342. 3) root part. of inc. art. in Ilok. and Iban., elem. of inc. art. in Pang., cf. p. 348. 4) plural elem. of dems. in Pamp., Pang., and Iban., cf. p. 354. 5) elem. of prefixes *dag* and *day*. 6) prefix of gen. pl. of Pang. dems., cf. p. 356. 7) prefix in Ilok. prons., 1. pl., du., 2. pl., cf. pp. 372, 378. 8) elem. of pers. inter. in Pang., Iban., and Bag., cf. pp. 360, 361, 362, and of indiv. inter. in Iban., cf. p. 363. 9) perhaps elem. of *dday*.—Pampangan *da* gen. of pron. 1. sg. is not identical with this *da*, but a modification of *ta*.
 dday—final elem. of Iban. numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.
 dag—prefix of pl. in Ilok. def. art. and dems., cf. pp. 342, 354.
 day—prefix of dems. sg. in Ilok., cf. p. 356.
 de₁—gen. of pron. 1. exc. pl. in Bag., cf. p. 369.—Pamp. *de* gen. of pron. 3. pl. is not identical with this *de*, though both are probably modifications of *da*.
 de₂—prefix of Pamp. inter. pl. *de-no*, cf. p. 360.
 di₁—1) obl. of def. art. [Nab. *chi*], cf. p. 343, and of pers. art., cf. p. 347. 2) obl. case sign in Tag. dems., cf. p. 353.

- 3) elem. of indiv. inter. in Pang., Ilok., Nab., and Sulu, cf. p. 364. 4) obl. case sign in Batan prons. 1. pers., cf. p. 371.—[cf. also *d(i)*].
- di*₂—dem. root part., cf. p. 352.
- di*₃—1) root part. of pl. of def. art. in Pamp., cf. p. 342. 2) root part. of inc. art. in Pamp., and elem. of inc. art. in Pang., cf. p. 348. 3) prefix of pers. inter. pl. in Pamp., cf. p. 360.—perhaps a modification of *da*.
- di*₄—nom. case sign in Ceb. and Har. dems., cf. p. 354 (= *di*₁).
- d(i)*—obl. case sign, may be *d*₁ or *di*₁, in prons. 2. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 377, 383.
- din*—in Bag., root part., 3. sg., and final elem. of neut. inter., cf. pp. 381, 362.
- ding*—in Pamp., stem of pl. of def. art., and elem. of pl. of indiv. inter., cf. pp. 342, 361.
- e*—nom. of def. art. in Nab., cf. p. 341.—*e* in Sulu *ekau* is identical with *i*, cf. p. 377.
- ed*—in Pang. only: 1) obl. of def. and pers. arts., cf. pp. 343, 346 f. 2) obl. case sign of all other pronouns, cf. pp. 347, 356, 362, 373, 379, 386.
- en*₁—1) dem. root part., cf. p. 353. 2) probably elem. of Sulu inter. *hadi-en*, cf. p. 364.
- en*₂—cf. *uen*.
- et*—obl. and gen. of def. art. in Har., cf. pp. 342, 343.
- g*—pluralizing infix in Ilok. dems., cf. pp. 354, 356.
- go*—final elem. of Bag. dems., cf. p. 352.
- ha*—1) obl. of def. art. in Sulu, cf. p. 343. 2) initial elem. of indiv. inters. in Bis. and Sulu, cf. p. 364.
- hi*—in Sulu only, pers. art. and prefix of pers. inter., cf. pp. 346, 364.
- i*₁—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) elem. of lig. *ay, ya*, cf. p. 340. 3) final elem. in Pang. def. art., cf. p. 342, and perhaps in the forms *e, ne* of the def. and pers. art. in Nab. (cf. pp. 341, 343); in the forms of the numeral 'one' in Iban.; cf. p. 345; in *kay*, obl. of pers. art. in Tag. and Bis., in the inc. art. in Hil., cf. p. 348; in the dems., cf. p. 357; in the following inters., viz., Bik. and Samaro-Leytean pers. inter., cf. pp. 361, 364, Nab. *sepa-i, twa-i, ngaramto-i*; followed by *n* in the case sign *ken*, and perhaps in Pang. *nen* (cf. p. 346). 4) root part. in def. arts. *i, in, ing*, cf.

- p. 341; and pers. art. *i* and perhaps *hi*, cf. p. 346. 5) artic-
ular prefix or nom. case sign in Ilok. def. art., cf. p. 342;
in the forms of the numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345; in the dems.,
cf. p. 353; in the Bik. inter. stem *isay*, cf. p. 361, in
Iban. indiv. inter., cf. p. 363, and in Nab. inter. *sepa(y)* if
it is equivalent to **sa-i-pa(y)*, cf. p. 362; in the pers. prons.
of all persons, cf. pp. 371, 372, 376, 377 f., 383, 384.—The
root part. *ya*, *ia*, 3. sg. is perhaps a combination of *a* with
this prefix. 6) elem. of *in*₁.
- i*₂—prepositional prefix or obl. and gen. case sign in Ilok. def.
art. and dems., cf. pp. 344, 353 f., 356; and in prons. 2. and
3. pers., cf. pp. 377, 378, 383, 385: elem. of *in*₂.
- ia*—cf. *ya*.
- id*—elem. of dem. stem *idto*, cf. p. 354 f.
- in*₁—prefix in inters., Ceb. *k-in-sa*, Pamp. *insa* (*in* < *ing*), cf.
p. 361, and in the stem *inda*, 3. pl., cf. p. 382.
- in*₂—prefix in stems *inyo*, *indo*, 2. pl., cf. pp. 376, 377.
- in*₃—suffix of gen. and obl. forms, prons. 1. pers. (= *on*, *un*,
and *en*₁), cf. p. 372.
- in*₄—suffix of inters., cf. p. 363.—not identical with *in*₃.
- k*₁—nom. case sign in Ceb. dems. and pers. inter., cf. pp. 354, 361.
- k*₂—obl. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 348; in Pamp. *king*, cf.
p. 343 f.; in Bik. *ki*, cf. p. 346; in Har. *k-agto*, cf. p. 355;
and in Pamp. *k-ako*, cf. p. 373.
- ka*₁—root part., 2. sg., cf. p. 375.
- ka*₂—1) obl. and gen. of def. art. in Bag. 2) obl. and gen. case
sign in def. art., cf. pp. 342-344; in pers. art., cf. p. 346;
in the inc. art., cf. p. 347 f.; in dems., cf. p. 353; in the
inters. in Tag., Hil., and Pamp., cf. p. 360, and probably
in Sam.-Ley. *kanay*, cf. p. 364; in the prons. of all three
persons, cf. pp. 371, 376 f., 383. 3) elem. of *ka(n)*, *kan*,
kay, *ken*, *kana*, *kani*, *kare* and *takka*.—The *ka* of the inc.
art. in Ceb. does not belong here, cf. *k*₂ and *ka*₄.
- ka*₃—elem. of the Mag. case signs *salka*, *seka*, *leka*, cf. p. 384,
and of *sika*.
- ka*₄—in Ceb., obl. of inc. art., and in Bik., obl. case sign of pl.
of pers. inter., cf. pp. 348, 361.
- kan*—1) obl. and gen. of the def. art., cf. p. 343 (bis); of pers.
art., cf. p. 346. 2) obl. and gen. case sign in pers. prons. in

- Har., Pamp., Sulu, and Bagobo, cf. pp. 371, 377, 383.
 3) in Nab. obl. *sikan*, cf. p. 346.
- ka(n)—obl. and gen. case sign, may be *ka* or *kan*, in the pers. prons. of all three persons, cf. pp. 371, 376 f., 383.
- kana—in Mag., gen. and obl. of def. art., and gen. case sign in prons. 3. sg., cf. pp. 343, 344, 383.
- kani—1) gen. and obl. of pers. art. in Mag., cf. p. 346. 2) obl. case sign in Ilok. *kaniak*, cf. p. 373. 3) elem. of case sign *kania* in Ilok. prons. 3. pers., cf. p. 384.
- kare—obl. case sign in Pamp. *kareno*, *karela*, cf. pp. 360, 386.
- kay—1) obl. of pers. art. cf. p. 346. 2) obl. and gen. case sign in Hil. pers. inter., cf. p. 360.
- ke₁—obl. case sign in Pamp. inter. *keno*, cf. p. 360.
- ke₂—nom. pron. 1. exc. pl. in Pamp., and Bag., cf. p. 369.
 —Pamp. *ke*, 1. sg. does not belong here, being a modification of *ko*, cf. p. 387.
- ken—in Ilok., obl. of pers. art., cf. p. 346, and obl. case sign of prons. 2. and 3. sg., cf. pp. 379, 384.
- key, xey—elem. of numeral 'one' in Pang. and Nab. respectively, cf. p. 345.
- ki—in Bik., obl. of pers. art., cf. p. 346, and obl. case sign in pers. inter., cf. p. 361.—probably a modification of *ka*,; not identical with Pang. *ki*, 2. pl., which seems to be a modification of *ka*, cf. p. 375.
- king—in Pamp., obl. of def. art. and obl. case sign of indiv. inter., cf. pp. 343 f., 361.
- ko—root part., 1. sg., cf. p. 368.—*ko*, 2. pl. does not belong here, being probably a modification of *ka*, cf. p. 375.
- kua—a noun meaning 'possession' used in Iban. in the obl. case sign *takkua*, and in Ilok. in the obl. of the prons. 3. sg. and pl., cf. p. 384.
- la—root part., 3. pl., cf. *da*.
- le, l—gen. case signs in Mag. pers. prons., cf. pp. 372, 373, 378; elem. of Mag. case sign *leka*, cf. p. 384, and of *sale*, *sal*.
- ma—dem. root part., cf. p. 353.
- mey—prefix of Ilok. numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.
- mi—root part., 1. exc. pl., cf. p. 369.
- mo—root part., 2. sg., cf. p. 376.
- n₁—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) final elem. in def. art., cf. p. 341 ff.; in pers. art., cf. p. 346; in the dems., cf. p. 357; perhaps

- in prons. 3. pl. in Mag. and Bag., cf. p. 382 (bis). 3) between prefix and root part. in the gen. of Pang. dems., cf. p. 356; in indiv. inters. in Pang. and Nab., cf. p. 364; in the elems. *an*₁, *in*₁, *un*₁. 4) in case signs *kan*, *ken*.
- n*₂—gen. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 348; in dems., cf. pp. 353, 354; in Iban. indiv. inter., cf. p. 363; in prons. 1. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 371, 372, 383, 385; and in all probability in Bat. *nu*.
- na*₁—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) gen. of def. art., cf. p. 342. 3) root elem. of gen. forms *nan*, *nang*, *ka-nan*, and perhaps of *ne* (*na* + *i*) and *nen* (*na* + *i* + *n*) of def. and pers. arts., cf. pp. 343, 346; and of *nay* in Hil. inc. art., cf. p. 348, 4) final elem. of Tag. inc. art., cf. p. 347. 5) dem. root part., cf. p. 353, and root part., 3. sg., cf. p. 381. 6) gen. case sign of Pang. dems., cf. p. 356, and of Mag. prons., 1. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 373, 385. 7) final elem. of inter. *antuna*, cf. p. 362. 8) in *kana*.
- na*₂—in Bik. and Ceb. gen. and obl. of inc. art. and gen. case sign of pl. of pers. inter., cf. pp. 348, 361; and final elem. of inc. art., cf. p. 348.
- ne*—1) gen. of def. and pers. arts in Nab., cf. pp. 343, 346. 2) gen. of pron. 3 sg. in Pamp., cf. p. 381. 3) elem. of Pang. gen. of pers. art. *nen*, cf. p. 346.
- neng*—gen. case sign of pron. 2. sg. in Mag., cf. p. 378.
- ni*₁—1) gen. of pers. art., cf. p. 346. 2) gen. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 347 f.; in dems., cf. pp. 353, 354; in the pers. inter. in Tag., Sam.-Ley., Bik., Pamp., and Iban., cf. pp. 360, 361; in prons. 1. and 2. pers., cf. pp. 371, 372, 373, 377, 378. 3) obl. case sign in Ceb. dems., cf. p. 353, and in Iban. prons. 1. and 2. pers. 4) root element of gen. forms *nin*, *ning* of def. art., cf. p. 343. 5) final elem. in Hil. inc. art., cf. p. 348. 6) in *kani*.
- ni*₂—dem. root part., cf. p. 352, and perhaps root part. of Mag. *nin*, cf. p. 380.
- ni*₃—elem. of Iban. inters. = *no*₁, cf. pp. 360, 362.
- n(i)*—gen. case sign, may be *n*₁ or *ni*₁, in prons. 2. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 377, 378, 383, 385.
- ning*—in Pamp., gen. of def. art. and gen. case sign of indiv. inter., cf. pp. 340, 361.

no₁—inter. root part., cf. p. 359 f.

no₂—root part., 2. pers., cf. p. 376.—Pamp. gen. *no*, 3. sg., does not belong here, being a modification of *na*, cf. p. 387.

nu—in *nu*, 'ka-*nu* of def. art. in Bat. and Mag., cf. p. 342 ff.

ng—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) final elem. in forms of def. art., cf. p. 341 ff.; in case signs identical with def. art. in Pamp.

indiv. inter., cf. p. 361. 3) in Mag. *ne-ng-ka*, cf. p. 377.

n̄ga—lig., cf. p. 338.

on, un—suffix of gen. and obl. forms, prons. 1 pers. (= *in*, and *en*), cf. pp. 372, 373.

pa₁—obl. of def. art. in Sulu, cf. p. 343.

pa₂—perhaps inter. root part. in Pang. and Nab. pers. inter., cf. p. 362.

ra—root part., 3. pl., cf. *da*.

ri—= *di* intervocalic.

ro—final elem. of numeral 'one' in Bik., cf. p. 345.

s₁—1) obl. case sign in the articular forms *sin*, *sun*, cf. pp. 343, 344, 346; in the signs of indef. obj. *sin*, *sing*, cf. p. 345; in the dems., cf. pp. 353, 354. 2) gen. and obl. case sign in prons. 1. and 2. pers. in Bik., cf. pp. 371, 372, 377, 378.

s₂—nom. case sign in Ceb. *sini*, cf. p. 354 (= *s*₁).

s₃—nom. case sign in inc. art. *sa* in Ceb, Bik., and *sanday* in Hil., cf. p. 348; in pers. prons. 3. pl., Bat. *sa* (?), Hil. and Har. *sanda*, Bik. *sinda*, cf. pp. 381, 383, 384; and in prons. 1. sg., cf. p. 371.

sa₁—1) obl. and gen. cf def. art., cf. pp. 342, 343. 2) root elem. of forms *san*, *sang* of def. art., cf. p. 343. 3) obl. case sign in dems., cf. p. 354; in pers. inter. in Tag., Ceb., and Sam.-Ley., cf. p. 358; in pronouns of all three persons, cf. pp. 371, 373, 376 f., 378 f., 383, 385 f. 4) elem. of Mag. case sign *sale*, *sal*.

sa₂—1) root elem. in Pang. def. art., nom. sg. *say*. 2) nom. case sign in pl. of def. art., and in incl. art. in Pang., cf. pp. 342, 348; in dems. in Pang. and Nab., cf. pp. 356, 357; and perhaps in the Nab. pers. inter., cf. p. 362.

sa₃—root part. of numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.

sa₄—inter. root part., cf. p. 361.

sa₅—1) nom. of inc. art. in Ceb. and Bik., and of pron. 3. pl. in Bat., cf. pp. 348, 381. 2) in Bik., nom. case sign of inc. art. and of pl. pers. inter., cf. pp. 348, 361. 3) final elem. of inc. art., cf. p. 348.

sa₆—nom. case sign in Ceb. *sa-ini*, cf. p. 354 (=sa₁).

sa₇—obl. of pron. 3. sg. in Iban., cf. p. 381.

sale, sal—case sign in Mag. pers. prons., cf. pp. 371 f., 377, 383.

san—in Sam.-Ley. only; 1) gen. of def. art. 2) obl. case sign in pers. inter. Cf. pp. 343, 364.

sang—in Hil. only; 1) gen. of def. art. 2) obl. case signs in prons. 3. sg. and pl. Cf. pp. 343, 385.

se₁—case sign in Mag. pers. prons., cf. references under *sale*.

se₂—initial elem. of pers. inter. in Nab., cf. p. 362.

si—1) nom. of pers. art., cf. p. 346. 2) nom. of def. art. and elem. of gen. *nin-si* in Bik., cf. pp. 341, 343. 3) nom. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 348; in pers. inter. in Tag., Hil., Sam.-Ley., Bik., Pang., Ilok., Iban., and Sulu, cf. pp. 360, 361, 362, 364; in prons. of all three persons, cf. pp. 371, 372, 377, 378, 383, 384 f. 4) initial elem. of *sikan*, obl. of pers. art. in Nab., cf. p. 346. 5) final elem. in Hil. inc. art., cf. p. 348. 6) elem. of case sign *sika*, *sik*.

sin—1) gen. of def. art. in Sulu, cf. p. 343. 2) sign of indef. object, and obl. case sign of pers. inter. in Sam.-Ley., cf. pp. 345, 364.

sika, sik—nom. case sign in Pang. and Nab. prons. 1. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 371, 372, 383, 384.

so, su—1) nom. of def. art., cf. p. 341. 2) in form *tu* in Iban., as sign of indef. obj., cf. p. 345. 3) root part., 3. sg. in Ilok., cf. p. 381. 4) initial elem. of Nab. dems. *suta*, *sutan*, cf. p. 357. 5) nom. case sign in Pang. dems., cf. p. 356.

t—in Iban. only; equivalent to s₁, cf. p. 333: obl. case sign in Iban. dems. and indiv. inter., cf. pp. 354, 363.

ta₁—dem. root part., cf. p. 353, and elem. of Har. *tana*, cf. p. 381.

ta₂—root part., 1. sg. pl., and du., cf. pp. 368, 369 ff.

ta₃—in Iban. only; equivalent to sa₁, cf. p. 333. 1) obl. of def. and pers. arts., cf. pp. 343, 347. 2) elem. of obl. case signs *takka*, *takkua*.

ta₄—gen. and obl. of def. art. in Bag., cf. p. 343; probably not identical with ta₃.

takka—in Iban. only; obl. case sign in pl. of dems., cf. pp. 354, 356 f.

takkua—in Iban. only; 1) obl. of pers. art., cf. p. 347. 2) obl. case sign in pers. and inc. arts., cf. pp. 347, 348; in pl. of dems., cf. p. 356 f.; and in pers. inter., cf. p. 361.

ti—root part of def. art. in Ilok., cf. p. 341, and of Pamp. dem. *iti*, cf. p. 353.—Pang. *ti*, gen. 1. inc. pl., does not belong here, being probably a modification of *ta*₂, cf. p. 387.

to—1) dem. root part., cf. p. 352. 2) root part., 3. sg., in Pang. and Nab., cf. p. 381. 3) prefix of gen. sg. in Pang. dems., cf. p. 356. 4) elem. of inters. *anto*, *antuna*, cf. p. 362.

tu—sign of indef. obj. in Iban. = *so*, *su*, cf. p. 345.

u—1) root part. of def. art. in Bat. and perhaps in Nab. *sun*, cf. pp. 341, 342, 344. 2) articular elem. in Bis. numeral *usa*, cf. p. 345; in the dem. stems *uri*, *ura*, cf. p. 354; and perhaps in the Pang. inter. stem *opa*, cf. p. 362, and the Sulu inter. *uno*, cf. p. 361. 3) elem. of *un*₁.

uen—suffix of gen. and obl. forms, prons. 1. pers. (= *in*₃ and *on*, *un*), cf. p. 369.

un₁—articular elem. in Ceb. inter. *unsa*, cf. p. 361.

un₂—cf. *on*, *un*.

y—cf. *i*₁.

ya₁—1) lig. in Pang., cf. p. 338. 2) nom. of def. art. in Har., cf. p. 341. 3) dem. root part., cf. p. 352 f. 4) root part., 3. sg., cf. p. 380 f. 4) root elem. of Bag. def. art. *yan*, cf. p. 341, and in Iban. dem. suffix *ye*, cf. p. 352, 357. 5) final elem. of Ilok. *ania*, cf. p. 363.

ya₂—suffix of prons. 1. pers. in Bik., cf. pp. 368, 369, 371.

yo—root part., 2. pers., cf. p. 376.